

CURRENT HISTORY

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U-BOAT FAILURES

By Alfred Noyes

WAR'S NEW PHASES

Rumania's Entrance

Canadian Catholics

German Women in War

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KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA



Ruler of the Balkan Nation Whose Declaration of War on the Side
of the Entente Was the Chief Military Event of Last Month.

QUEEN MARIA OF RUMANIA.



The Beautiful Ruler, With King Ferdinand, of the Fifteenth Nation
to Enter the Great European War.

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

OCTOBER, 1916

THE WAR: MILITARY PHASES

New Aspects of the Conflict

THE outstanding events of the last month were the declaration of war by Italy against Germany, the entrance of Rumania on the side of the Allies, and the practical surrender by King Constantine of Greek sovereignty to the Allies.

The importance of Rumania's decision lies not only in the fresh troops she supplies and opening the gates which heretofore have barred the Russians from Bulgaria and Hungary, but in the moral influence of her action on the neutrals. The Rumanian statesmen from the very beginning have been closely watching the situation; they have had access to the fullest and most secret information; moreover, they have been in a position to observe critically and thoroughly at first hand the march of events, and have not hesitated to confess frankly that if they yielded their neutrality it would be to take sides with the forces which Rumania was convinced would win. Now that they have unsheathed the sword and aligned themselves against the Teutons, Bulgarians, and Turks, the act serves notice to the neutral world that the most formidable uncommitted nation of Europe after two years of investigation feels sure that the cause of the Central Powers is lost.

The action of Greece implies practically the same conclusion. King Constantine undoubtedly intended to maintain neutrality, though the sympathies of his consort and of the entire royal entourage were decidedly pro-German. The

deathblow to his prestige came when the Bulgarians invaded Greek soil and occupied Greek fortresses. A flame of indignation swept over Greece, revolutionary parties were formed in Thessaly and Macedonia, and some garrisons were forced to yield their forts to the revolutionists. Finally, when Bulgaria seized the important port of Kavala, the allied powers saw their opportunity; a large fleet was assembled at Piraeus, and instant demand was made that the posts and telegraph be turned over to the Allies, and that German propagandist agents be expelled from Greece. These demands were at once complied with, and the Allies are now practically administering Grecian affairs. The Zaimis Cabinet has tendered its resignation, and Nikolas Kalogeropoulos, a distinguished Greek lawyer friend of Venizelos, has formed a new Cabinet. The voice of ex-Premier Venizelos is paramount. The elections will be held in October. If they go, as is confidently expected, in favor of Venizelos, the King will face the alternative of abdicating or formally joining the Allies.

Italy's declaration of war against Germany simply gives the formal and final touch to the dissolution of the Triple Alliance and commits Italy irrevocably to a policy hostile to the aims of the Central Powers. She has been practically at war with Germany since her declaration against Austria in May, 1915, but the formal declaration late in August last has political significance, and may have influenced the final decision of Rumania.

309182

Military Developments

THE first impression following the Rumanian action was that it meant the early ending of the war, but this opinion gradually altered, and within two weeks it was generally noted that as her enemies multiplied, Germany's backbone stiffened. The grandiose structure of Pan Germanism was shaken, however; the problem of the Central Powers had become one of keeping their empires intact, and to this end they were prepared to fight with desperation, and to expend the uttermost farthing and the last able-bodied man in their realms if necessary.

"The nippers are gripping." The ring of steel begins at Riga and now extends southward in an unbroken line through Transylvania, Macedonia, lower Hungary, Trent, Tyrol, Alsace-Lorraine, Western France, and Flanders, to Ostend and Antwerp. It is being contracted each day, but very slowly, and if this pressure can be resisted as effectually as at present, many months must yet elapse before German soil is reached.

The Rumanians have suffered severe territorial losses on their southeastern border—lands which Bulgaria has long sought—but have advanced with the Russians in Transylvania and Bulgaria. The full manoeuvre of the Rumanian-Russian campaign is not yet defined. The Allies have begun a serious upward pressure from Saloniki, and have already reconquered some Serbian territory. The Italians are making progress, driving for Trieste, the Trentino and Tyrol. The French have the advantage at Verdun, and are gradually recovering the outlying fortresses they lost there. On the Somme the Anglo-French offensive is blasting its way through the German trenches, gaining a few thousand yards every few days, but the Allies have not been able to break the German lines, and at their present rate of progress will be unable before Winter to bend them back far enough to flank them and drive the enemy out of France; but backward the Germans are moving, surely if slowly; it is clear that, unless new forces can be levied and new instruments of warfare introduced, they must in the end be forced to their own frontiers.

Stormy Days for Premier Tisza

RUMANIA'S entry into the war caused the sudden collapse of the recently patched-up peace between the Hungarian Government Party, led by Premier Tisza, and the four groups forming the Opposition, led by Counts Michael Karolyi, Albert Apponyi, Julius Andrássy, and Stephan Rakovski. The Opposition attacked the Premier fiercely for the failure of the Foreign Office to avert Rumania's participation on the side of the Entente Powers, for the advance of the Rumanians into Transylvania, and for the critical food situation in Hungary. Scenes of great excitement were enacted at the session of the Hungarian Diet on Sept. 5 and at subsequent sessions. The Premier was greeted by the Opposition forces with shouts of "Resign!" Ex-Premier Andrássy urged a change in leadership in view of the serious position in which the country found itself. Premier Tisza, however, showed no disposition to retire. Meanwhile the Bulgaro-German invasion of Rumania in the Dobrudja district lessened somewhat the vigor of the Opposition's attacks. The leaders even expressed themselves to the effect that the adding to the Cabinet of some Ministers without portfolios from their own ranks would satisfy the Opposition. The latter scored a victory on Sept. 13 in the withdrawal from the Government Party of Count Bela Serenyi and his resignation from the office of Minister of Agriculture. The political situation in Hungary is so dependent upon the position of the army that there is certain to follow a political crisis in case of further Russo-Rumanian successes across the Carpathians.

Hungary's Hard Lot

THE position of the Kingdom of Hungary at the present stage of the war is singularly hard. After fighting for her independence, which she would have won in 1848-9, but for the intervention of Nicholas I. of Russia as the defender of imperialism, Hungary, taking advantage of the Austrian Emperor's difficulties after Sadowa in 1866, made herself practically independent without fighting. The Magyars, who are only

10,000,000 out of Hungary's 20,000,000 population, then tried to dominate the Slavs and Rumanians within the boundaries of Hungary—and these include Croatia and Slavonia—disfranchising them and dictating to them in many ways. This treatment by the recently liberated Magyars of the Rumanian element in Transylvania was given by the Rumanian Government as one of its chief reasons for entering the war on the side opposed to Austria-Hungary.

Yet Hungary's position is exceptionally hard: though practically an independent kingdom, she has no independent army, practically no control over the valiant and hard fighting Hungarian regiments in the Austrian Imperial Army. According to the agreement, (the *Ausgleich* of 1867,) which binds the two parts of the Dual Monarchy together, there is only one War Ministry in the empire, that at Vienna, and it is practically beyond the control of the Budapest Parliament. Hence the sharp discontent in the Magyar capital; Hungary sees her eastern provinces given up to the Rumanian invader, knows that there are many valiant Hungarian regiments who might have fought to keep that invader back, but is unable to send them to the frontier passes. They have already been dispersed along other fronts, nominally by the Vienna War Ministry, but really by the Great General Staff of Germany, in accordance with German, not with Hungarian needs and strategy. After keen discontent, a compromise has been reached at Budapest, under which the critics of the Opposition have agreed not to quarrel under the enemy's guns.

The Forces of the Hellenic Armies

RUMANIA, with a population of about 8,000,000, affirms that she will be able to put 800,000 men of all arms into the field, in furtherance of her national ambition for a Larger Rumania of 12,000,000 souls. Even if her armies lose heavily, the nation, should it be successful, will greatly gain. Greece had, before the two Balkan wars, a population of 2,600,000; these wars gave her new territories with a population only slightly less, so that, in 1914, she counted some

four and a half millions; about equal to the population of Ireland, with about the same area. If she is able to do as well as Rumania promises to do, she will be able to put into battle something over 400,000 men, or, let us say, ten army corps.

We may reach about the same result in another way. Each belligerent nation which had universal military service has been able to put into the field an army six or seven times as numerous as her peace army, by drawing on all reserves. But Greece has a peace army of 60,000; six times that number will give us 360,000; seven times that number gives 420,000—much the same result as before. Since military service in Greece is compulsory and universal, with very few exemptions, practically every man in Greece above the age of 20 has had a full military training, and has been trained well. The Greek service rifle is the Mannlicher-Schoenauer; the field artillery is armed with Schneider-Canet guns, very similar to the famous French "75." As for leadership, King Constantine, whose courage was questioned in the disastrous war against Turkey in 1897, showed himself in the Balkan wars of 1912-3 a soldier of considerable force and skill. And, as incentive in this war for nationality, there are still large colonies of "unredeemed" Greeks at many points throughout the Turkish Empire, notably in the splendid historic territories of Ionia, facing Greece across the Aegean Sea.

The new Greek Premier, who organized a Cabinet on Sept. 16, is Nikolas Kalogeropoulos, one of the cleverest lawyers of Greece. He holds the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Paris. He is regarded as friendly to Venizelos, and though he announces that Greece will maintain "benevolent neutrality" toward the Allies, it is believed this cannot continue long.

A Lost Italian Dreadnought

USELESS and needless to speculate on the cause of the loss of a fine Italian dreadnought named in honor of the most universal genius of Italy, Leonardo de Vinci, reported to have sunk in

the harbor of Taranto under the instep of the Italian boot. The cause is obscure. The fact of the loss remains. This fine battleship was one of a group laid down from 1909 to 1912, six in number, and several of them bearing splendid historic names: Dante Alighieri, Conte di Cavour, Giulio Cesare, (Julius Caesar,) Leonardo da Vinci, Duilio, and Andrea Doria—named for the authors of works as various as the Divine Comedy, the Commentaries on the Gallic War, and United Italy. Two of these ships, the poet and the statesman, displace 19,000 tons and carry a primary armament of twelve 12-inch guns; the other four were built to displace 21,500 tons each, and to carry thirteen 12-inch guns; among these is the Taranto wreck.

Italy began, in 1914, a group of still larger battleships, four in number, to be called the Cristoforo Colombo, the M. Colonna, the F. Morosini, the Carraciolo. These new ships were to displace 28,000 tons, excelled by only two ships in the British Navy, the battle cruisers Queen Mary and Tiger, the first of which went down at the battle of Jutland; equaled, in the German Navy, by the battle cruiser Derfflinger, by the Lützow, likewise sunk in the battle of Jutland, and perhaps by two or three new ships, one called after Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The four Italian superdreadnoughts were designed to carry a primary armament of eight 15-inch guns, a stronger primary battery, it would seem, than any in the United States Navy, though paralleled by all the newer British and some of the newer German ships. But Italy has always had a liking for the biggest guns. She was said at one time to have primary batteries of 17-inch guns on some of her warships, and it was said that these were the biggest calibre guns ever mounted on shipboard. But just what stage of completion the Cristoforo Colombo and "her" three sister ships have reached, it would be difficult to say. By the way, is it not, to say the least, an odd fact in nomenclature, that Dante and Caesar, George Washington and Kaiser Wilhelm are all spoken of as "she" when their names are given to ships?

Germany's and England's Losses in Men

IN the month of July, 1916, the Germans lost 121,824 men, divided as follows: Killed, 21,196; died of sickness, 2,062; missing, 15,334; severely wounded, 17,807; wounded, 5,654; slightly wounded, 50,157; wounded but remaining with units, 9,614. The total German losses, exclusive of colonial forces, from August, 1914, to August, 1916, are 3,135,177, of whom 784,400 were killed or died of wounds or sickness, 357,617 missing and prisoners, and 425,175 severely wounded.

In August, 1916, the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing 4,711 officers and 123,234 men. In the first two years of the war the British casualty list of officers alone aggregated 41,219. Up to Jan. 28, 1916, the British losses of men were 525,345. No cumulative list of losses of men since that time has been published, but, assuming that the ratio of losses of officers to men has remained constant, the number of men killed, wounded, and missing in the twenty-four months is about 1,000,000.

The Munitions Miracle

THE miracle wrought in the production of munitions in England is reported by the Minister of Munitions as follows: The output which before the war took an entire year to produce is now turned out in periods as follows: Eighteen-pounders, 3 weeks; field howitzers, 2 weeks; medium-sized shells, 11 days; heavy shells, 4 days. The monthly output of guns has been increased twelve fold over the pre-war production, machine guns fourteen fold, rifles three fold, small-arms ammunition three fold, high explosives sixty-six fold, and trench bombs, thirty-three fold. In one week of the western offensive the British consumed more light ammunition than was produced in eleven months before the war, while all the heavy ammunition manufactured in eleven months before the war would not have met the requirements of the army in Picardy and Flanders for a single day. Today 2,250,000 persons are employed in England as munition workers, of whom 400,000 are women.

Mail for War Prisoners

SWITZERLAND handles all mail to and from prisoners of war free of cost. In April of this year the Swiss Post Office forwarded to prisoners of war 326,241 letters daily and 102,209 parcels, weighing up to twelve pounds; it also handled an average of 7,994 money orders a day. From the beginning of the war to the end of 1915 the Berne Transit Bureau forwarded to the belligerent countries 74,256,858 letters and postcards addressed to prisoners of war, besides 19,028,192 large and small parcels. During the same period the Swiss Post Office transmitted 3,066,597 money orders aggregating \$8,654,336. All this was done free of charge and cost the Swiss Government over \$2,000,000. Letters and parcels from prisoners to correspondents in the United States are handled by our Post Office free of charge, but postage is required for forwarding from this country.

Mercantile Marine Losses

THE Bureau Veritas, an authoritative French marine publication, has collated statistics of the war losses of the mercantile marine, which differ widely from the figures given out by German authorities. The losses from Aug. 1, 1914, to May 1, 1916, as reported by the French publication represents a total of 1,475 vessels with gross tonnage of 3,324,-

725. The world's tonnage is 50,000,000, hence the loss is a little over 6 per cent. The chief sufferers are tabulated as follows:

	No.	Steam.	Sail.	Total Tons.
British	641	543	98	1,448,699
French	63	45	18	157,987
German	441	354	87	1,106,457
Austrian	49	48	1	173,417
American	3	1	2	7,202
Dutch	20	20	..	48,452
Norwegian	100	76	24	116,434

The German losses represent 18 per cent. of Germany's total at the outbreak of the war; England's loss is 7 per cent. The Germans seized in their ports sixty-three vessels with a tonnage of 142,936. Great Britain's seizures total 490,032 tons. Portugal seized German vessels with a total of 196,407 tons. The seizures are not included in the reports of losses. The Hamburg-American Company alone has lost during the war 48 vessels out of 205; the Hansa Line of Bremen 36 ships out of 74; the Kosmos Line 29 out of 59; the North German Lloyd 28 out of 142.

The losses from May 1, 1916, to Sept. 1, 1916, which were quite heavy among the Allies, are not included in the above. In August, 1916, alone the German Admiralty claims its submarines destroyed 126 hostile ships, totaling 170,679 gross tons; also thirty-five neutral ships carrying contraband, totaling 38,568 tons.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

PURCHASE OF DANISH WEST INDIES

THE Senate on Sept. 6 ratified the treaty between the United States and Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies for \$25,000,000 without an opposing vote. Agreement to the sale by all political parties in Denmark, with the early consummation of the transaction, is confidently expected. The United States thus secures 33,000 square miles of new territory. In comparison with previous purchases of this kind the price is high. The Louisiana Purchase comprised 828,000 square miles

and cost us (in 1803) \$15,440,000. We paid Mexico in 1848 \$15,000,000 for the 529,189 square miles in which California was included, and in 1867 we paid Russia for Alaska \$7,200,000. In 1853 we paid \$10,000,000 for the Gadsden Purchase, lands in Arizona and New Mexico, 45,000 square miles, and in 1898 we paid Spain \$20,000,000 when we took over the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico. For Florida, in 1819, the price was \$5,000,000, and that recently paid for Panama was \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 annually for the Canal

Zone. In the purchase of these islands the amount of territory acquired evidently had no bearing on the price. Our Government paid the exorbitant amount asked not only to secure the islands, but to prevent their going to any other power.

The discussion leading up to this purchase reopened questions concerning the Monroe Doctrine. The enlarged interpretation given to Monroe's dictum in our own day had raised the question whether the acquirement of these Danish islands by any other European power would not be an intolerable violation of the principle at stake. The event, therefore, lends timeliness to an article elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in which the historic development of the Monroe Doctrine is traced.

* * *

OUR NEW NAVAL PROGRAM

THE United States Congress which adjourned Sept. 8, after a session lasting nearly ten months, made the largest naval appropriation ever passed by any legislative body in time of peace. The bill provides for the construction of 157 new vessels of all classes, and will put the United States second among the naval powers of the world. Provision is made for 10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 50 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 58 coast submarines, and 13 auxiliary vessels, all having a total displacement of 813,000 tons. The program covers three years.

The cost of the vessels authorized, plus the 20 per cent. additional for expediting the construction, amounts to \$654,000,000; the total cost of vessels from 1883 to 1915, inclusive, was \$700,000,000. The bill also carries these important provisions: \$13,700,000 for a Government armor plant, projectile plant, and laboratories, and \$3,500,000 for naval aeronautics and a naval flying corps. The commissioned personnel of the navy is increased by 1,525; 900 in the line, 330 in the Medical Corps, 130 in the pay corps, 70 in the construction, 20 in the engineers, 25 in the Chaplains, 50 in the dental surgeons.

The enlisted force of the navy will be increased by 24,000 men, of whom 25

are annually appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to be midshipmen; he is also to appoint annually from civil life 30 Ensigns for engineering duties, graduates of engineering institutions. The Marine Corps is increased about 5,000, with 300 new commissions.

The Secretary of the Navy expects that the construction of all the vessels provided for in the program will be under way by March 1, 1917, and that all will be completed well within the three-year period.

* * *

AVIATION IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY

A FEATURE of the new Army bill enacted at the recent session of Congress is the provision for aviation. It provides for the training of 1,000 aviators, half of whom will be active and half in the reserve service. The plans call for an equipment which will include aeroplanes of all the various military types, for a thorough system of training, for the mobilization, and so far as possible the standardization, of the various industries which can be utilized in the manufacture of aeroplanes or their equipment for military purposes, and, lastly, for means by which any young man who can pass the mental, physical, and moral test of the regular service may obtain the practical and theoretical instruction necessary to equip him for a commission as an officer of the aerial reserve service.

There will be established a system of training schools, which are expected to be second to none in the world. The machines manufactured especially for training purposes will be of types to fly from thirty-eight to sixty miles an hour, and designed with the idea of obtaining a machine easy for a novice to operate.

* * *

NEW FEDERAL REVENUE LAW

THE new revenue bill doubles the initial income tax, making it 2 per cent. on incomes over \$3,000 in the case of unmarried persons or over \$4,000 for persons "at the head of a family." An additional tax is levied on incomes exceeding \$20,000, increasing to 13 per cent. on incomes of over \$2,000,000. All

the existing stamp taxes are abolished. There is a tax of 50 cents on each \$1,000 stock (market value) of corporations in excess of \$99,000.

A 30 per cent. duty is assessed on dye-stuffs to begin at once, also on medicinals and flavors, the duty to be reduced gradually after five years. A 35 per cent. tax is put on blended wines and 10 cents a gallon on brandy spirits. The law also provides for a Federal inheritance tax beginning at 1 per cent. on estates up to \$50,000, 9 per cent between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000, 10 per cent. over \$5,000,000.

A tariff commission is authorized, the President to appoint and designate the Chairman. Salaries are fixed at \$7,500 a year. The commission's duties are to investigate trade conditions and changes in case of production and to report its findings from time to time to Congress; it has no executive authority; \$300,000 is appropriated annually for the work of the commission. Copper smelters, under the new law, are to pay a tax of 1 per cent. on gross receipts up to \$1,000,000, 2 per cent. up to \$10,000,000, 3 per cent. in excess of \$10,000,000.

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GREAT BRITAIN'S WONDERFUL WEALTH

ACCORDING to British Treasury experts, Great Britain has provided for the interest and sinking fund of its colossal war debt twice over by the imposition of new taxes. The total debt July 29, 1916, was, in round numbers, \$14,000,000,000; if the war continues to March, 1917, it is estimated the debt will be \$17,000,000,000. The present debt averages $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest; add 1 per cent. sinking fund, and the total annual charge on the debt now is \$745,000,000. Prior to the war the expenses, including interest charges, was \$1,000,000,000 per annum. The revenue for the current year, due to the imposition of extraordinary income and excise taxes, will be \$2,500,000,000. Deducting one billion dollars as the normal rate of expenditure, there still remains one and one-half billions for new interest and sinking fund, which is twice the amount now required. Even if the national debt reaches twenty

billions, with interest at 5 per cent. and 1 per cent. sinking fund, the present revenue will meet all current expenditures, as well as the colossal war drain, and will still leave a comfortable surplus.

* * *

OUR TRADE WITH HOLLAND

ENGLAND has become so aroused over the extraordinary increase of Holland's importations of food products, a large proportion of which find their way into Germany, that she has laid a virtual embargo on all food products from the United States to Holland. On Sept. 14 notice was given that she refused to allow the Netherlands Oversea Trust to accept any further American consignments and declined to grant assurance for American shipments destined for either Holland or Scandinavian countries. Under this order only cargoes for Scandinavia and Holland, when accompanied by assurances of their innocent destination, will be allowed by the Allies to proceed.

The embargo on Holland doubtless arises from the following statistics recently procured by Great Britain: In the first six months of 1914 the shipments of butter to Germany from Holland were 7,671 tons, in the same period of 1916 19,026 tons; cheese jumped from 6,312 tons to 45,969 tons, cocoa from 1,025 tons to 3,302 tons, eggs from 7,868 tons to 20,328 tons, meat from 5,820 tons to 40,248 tons, potato flour from 20,985 tons to 52,298 tons, spirits from 447 hectoliters to 37,638. The shipments to England from Holland in the same period showed enormous reductions as compared with the same period in 1914.

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THE MEXICAN CONFERENCE

THE troubles on the Mexican border seem now to be fairly on the way toward a satisfactory solution through the labors of the joint high commission which has been in session at New London, Conn., since Sept. 6. The commission consists of three of Mexico's ablest men and three Americans of like endowment, namely:

Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior.

George Gray of Wilmington, Del., former Federal Judge.

Dr. John R. Mott of New York, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary in the Mexican Department of Communications.

The first two weeks of the conference have been devoted to a broad discussion of the economic and political problems that underlie the whole question of the Carranza Government's ability to restore security of life and property in Mexico as well as along the border. At this writing (Sept. 20) a plan to guard the border by a mixed American and Mexican patrol operating within a restricted neutral zone is under consideration. The fact of chief significance thus far, however, is that the members of the commission have met in a spirit of accord and mutual respect, and that both countries are confidently expecting a workable program at their hands, in which the early withdrawal of General Pershing's expedition from Mexican soil and the recall of most of our National Guard regiments from the Rio Grande will be the salient features. It is expected that an American loan will figure indirectly in the effort to increase the efficiency of the Mexican Government.

* * *

GERMANY'S FOOD PROBLEM

DR. HELFFERICH, Germany's Secretary of the Interior, states that Germany, notwithstanding her industrial progress prior to 1914, did not neglect food production; hence he scoffs at the idea that the nation can be starved. In consequence of scientific cultivation agricultural schools, irrigation, drainage, rotation of crops, and artificial fertilization, the harvests from 1909 to 1912 compared with the period of 1883-86 show an increase in area cultivated of 5.8 per cent., but the increase in crops was 87.7 per cent., making the increase in the net return per hectare 77.7 per cent. He says without any imports whatsoever Germany's breadstuffs are more plentiful per capita than they were thirty years ago, also that the imports of meat and butter were comparatively light, and that

the production of sugar has increased 10 to 12 per cent., and will easily meet the requirements without any importations. The blockade on importations of cattle feed has rendered difficult, he says, the keeping of live stock and limited meat and milk products, but this deficiency is being met by economies. He states that the 1916 harvest is much better than in 1915, and that the increase in breadstuffs over 1915 will amount to several million tons.

* * *

DRUNKENNESS AND WAR

THE official reports show that there is a decided decrease of drunkenness in London. During the first eight months of this year the total convictions for drunkenness in the London district were 20,477, against 37,570 in the same period in 1915 and 45,540 in the corresponding period of 1914. Some decrease is attributed to the absence of men at the front, but the decrease in convictions of women is almost in the same proportions; the statistics of female convictions are, respectively, for the first eight months of 1914, 1915, and 1916, 12,164, 11,231, and 6,797.

The average weekly number of convictions for drunkenness from January to June last was 835 in England and 454 in Scotland, as compared with 1,558 and 754, respectively, from January to June, 1915.

Beer charged with duty for home consumption in England and Wales during the first six months of 1915 totaled 11,439,306 barrels, against 10,782,533 in the first six months of this year, and in Scotland 676,381, against 651,209.

Whisky cleared for home consumption in England and Wales for the first six months of 1915 amounted to 13,258,158 gallons, compared with 11,254,933 in the first half of this year, and in Scotland 3,685,935 gallons, against 2,688,915.

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THE SITUATION IN IRELAND

AN American Consul returning from Europe has recently put it on record that, while in Ireland there is outward tranquillity, there is still much fermentation beneath the surface; that,

while no troops fight more loyally and gallantly at the front in France than those recruited in Ireland, (and the official army reports fully bear this out,) there is still much unrest in the south-west of Ireland, in the regions about Cork and Killarney in particular. He adds, and this is ominous, that a new rebellion is to be financed from the United States. Charles Stuart Parnell, by far the ablest leader Nationalist Ireland has produced in our days, a man who united passionate patriotism with a dry, scientific intellect, once said that Ireland was almost ideally unfitted for guerrilla warfare (and that is what a "rebellion" means) because it is like a basin, with a rim of mountains near the edge, but with the whole centre of the country an open plain. The entire coast is dominated by the English Navy, and must continue to be, so long as that navy is in possession of the sea; the whole centre of the country is indefensible by guerrillas; therefore any attempted military operations are foredoomed to fail.

The "rebellion" of 1798 demonstrated this. Foreign aid had been promised; because of England's command of the sea, even before Trafalgar seven years later, no effective foreign aid could be sent. Guerrilla warfare broke out at different points along the "rim" of the basin, (Wexford, Down, Mayo,) but these efforts were neither correlated nor simultaneous, and ended in early disaster. Today such a "rebellion" is even more certain to fail; no foreign aid, except, perhaps, a submarine crew or two, can possibly be sent; English garrisons, using railroads, can reach any point in the country within a few hours. Their possession of modern artillery would make the result of armed conflict a mathematical certainty. Only disaster and misery could result to Ireland, as was the case with the recent uprising in Dublin. It is quite clear that any one financing or otherwise abetting a "rebellion" in Ireland is not seeking the well-being of Ireland, which could not conceivably come from it, but is seeking to embarrass England; to help, not Ireland, but the nations fighting England. For the sake of Ireland every one must hope that

these efforts, if they really exist, will be wholly abortive.

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SOCIAL RELIEF WORK IN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA

ONE of the effects of the war throughout the civilized world has been the unparalleled intensity of relief work carried on by diverse social bodies both in belligerent and neutral countries. While the full extent of such work can never be measured with any degree of accuracy, the statistics based on the activities of the major organizations in a certain country are instructive in themselves. Thus we find that in the first two years of war the people of England have voluntarily contributed more than \$250,000,000 to the work of the various British organizations engaged in relief activities at home and at the front. The leading fund in England is the Prince of Wales Relief Fund, the receipts of which now total more than \$30,000,000.

Russia's relief work is more astounding than that of England. This is partly due to the fact that the Russian social bodies are engaged in certain activities—such as supplying clothes to the soldiers at the front—which in England or France are the work of the Government exclusively. Russia's leading social organization, the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, has handled in the first two years of the war the enormous sum of 2,500,000,000 rubles. On July 16, 1916, the Zemstvo Union had on its hands 1,500,000 pieces of underwear, while all supplies on hand were insured at the sum of 23,000,000 rubles. In the two years the union has supplied the Government (for the army) with 78,000,000 pieces of underwear, while it expended for its own relief work 50,000,000 more such pieces. All other items included, the union supplied the Government with 131,000,000 articles. The union's order department is now turning out for the Government 5,000,000 pairs of warm boots, 4,000,000 Winter coats, 5,000,000 pairs of gloves, and 10,000,000 pairs of socks. From Aug. 3, 1915, to Aug. 10, 1916, the union manufactured for its own activities goods worth 36,000,000 rubles. Up to Jan. 14,

1916, 7,000,000 rubles were spent on medicine alone. The Central Committee of the union had purchased since November, 1915, 27,253 horses, 1,261 motor cycles, and 60 motor boats. A special factory maintained by the union had manufactured articles of a sanitary character to the value of 1,450,000 rubles. If it be remembered that the Zemstvo Union is only one of many social organizations doing work of like nature, the amazing extent of Russia's social awakening and progress may be realized.

* * *

THE Government of the United States has notified the allied Governments, in discussing the submarine merchant vessel Deutschland, that it cannot subscribe to the doctrine that all submarines shall be treated as vessels of war. The United States holds that the determination of the status of a submarine must be based on consideration of the facts in each individual case, and that the rule of conduct for a neutral Government must be the same with respect to this type of vessel that it is for other craft. Submarines may be merchant ships or warships, and their status is determined by the character and purpose of their armament, the ownership of the vessel, and whether they are privately owned or owned by a Government and commissioned as part of the naval forces of that Government.

* * *

THE foreign trade of the United States for the first seven months of 1916 reached the staggering total of \$4,394,040,948, an increase of nearly \$1,500,000,000 over the corresponding period last year. The exports from Jan. 1, 1916, to Aug. 1 were \$2,926,221,372; imports, \$1,467,819,574. Prior to the war our highest aggregate of exports and imports in an entire year, 1914, was \$4,258,504,805; hence our foreign business in seven months is now practically up to the

previous maximum in twelve months. The British Empire is our best customer, representing nearly half the total. Our balance of trade with the United Kingdom alone in seven months is \$854,000,357. Our trade with Japan is nearly twice as large as last year. In seven months our trade with Germany was only \$5,931,635, and with Austria \$564,593. We imported from Germany in the first seven months of 1915 goods valued at \$36,094,099, but the figures fell to \$4,813,452 in the same period of 1916. Our sales to the A B C South American republics increased 100 per cent., and our imports from those countries increased over 50 per cent.

* * *

IN the first ten weeks—up to Aug. 12—of the Russian drive in Bukowina and Galicia, the Austro-Germans lost as prisoners to the Russians 7,757 officers and 350,000 men, besides 405 guns, 1,326 machine guns, 338 bomb throwers, and 292 caissons. Adding the losses of the next eighteen days—up to Sept. 1, 1916—the total number of prisoners captured by the Russians since the beginning of the drive is considerably in excess of 400,000. The British and French up to Sept. 10, 1916, in the drive in Picardy, which began July 1, captured 54,000 prisoners.

* * *

EMILE VANDERVELDE, Belgian Minister of State, recently told a London audience that on the day after the battle of the Yser the Belgian Army was reduced to a few thousands; the country, all save a little corner, was occupied by the invader, its finances were in ruin, and most of its young men of military age were on the other side of the German lines. Yet today Belgium has an army of 200,000 men, well armed and equipped, which is doing its share, pro rata, on the western front, holding the twenty-odd miles of trenches from the North Sea to Bixschoote.



How England Checked the Submarine War

By Alfred Noyes

Alfred Noyes, whose fame as poet is enshrined in English and American literature, served for a while at the Dardanelles and later visited the United States, where he was warmly received. On his return to England he began studying the British Admiralty methods for coping with the German submarines. With the co-operation of the Admiralty, he has been able to shed the first real light on this mystery. His articles, which are given here in abbreviated form, are copyrighted in America by The New York Tribune Association.

THERE has been some discussion in America as to whether Mr. Wilson's notes, or some other more secret and certain power, caused

the Germans to abandon their deadliest sea weapon. Inasmuch as this weapon ceased to trouble the English a little earlier than it ceased to sink neutrals, the latter alternative might be accepted as probable, even without further knowledge, but further knowledge absolutely confirms this probability. Nothing is more striking in the conduct of this war than the way in which the British method of "slow and sure" has justified itself. The superficial clamor for sudden and sensational proofs of "what England is doing" began in the first fortnight of the war. Neutral countries even wondered why the first month of the war had produced no great historian. In the meantime, England was making the history of the next thousand years; and that can only be done on vast and deeply sunken foundations, which must be laid in silence. Results, and solid results, of granite and oak were England's aim. These are now appearing; and while her great new armies are demonstrating what England has created on that side,

it is now possible to give a glimpse of the far-reaching method that destroyed the menace of the German submarine.

It was done in silence, and silence

was one of the weapons. Submarines went out and never returned. Other submarines went out, perplexed, against a mystery; and these, too, never returned, or returned in mysteriously diminishing numbers. Nothing was said about it till the destruction of the fiftieth was quietly celebrated at a small gathering in London; and then neutrals began to inquire, with a new note of curiosity, "What is England doing?" We heard tales of steel nets—as vague as the results would have been but



ALFRED NOYES

for certain great preliminaries of which we never heard. A few days ago I had the opportunity of seeing the finished system, and this threw a flood of light on the immense work that must have gone before in even this one branch of our sea warfare.

A Mysterious Fleet

To begin with, a body of men, larger than the United States Army, was chosen from the longshore fishermen and trawler crews. They were gradually drilled, disciplined, and trained and put into naval

uniforms. This force is now over 100,000 strong. They were chosen, of course, on an entirely different principle from that of the army. They were tough seadogs, of all ages, inured to all the ways of the sea, but not at all to any form of discipline. This in itself implies very great preliminaries, for the finished product is fit to man a battleship.

In the meantime, their fishing-boats, trawlers, and drifters were gradually taken over by the Government and fitted out for the hunt, some three thousand of them. To these were added a fleet of fast motor boats, specially built for scouting purposes. They were stationed at various points all round the island. Night and day, in all weathers, section replacing section, these trawlers and drifters string themselves out from coast to coast; while on shore thousands of workers are turning out their own special munitions and equipment—nets, mines, and a dozen mysteries which may not be mentioned.

From one of their bases a patrol-boat took me out along one of the longest lines of the flotilla. This innocent line of trawlers, strung out for some fifty miles, had more nightmares in store for the German submarines than a fleet of battleships. It was an odd sensation to approach trawler after trawler and note the one obviously unusual feature of each—the menacing black gun at bow and stern. They were good guns, too—English, French, and Japanese. The patrol-boat carried a Hotchkiss, and most of the trawlers had equally efficient weapons. There were other unusual features in every trawler, drifter, and whaler, features that made one catch one's breath when their significance was realized. About this I may say very little; but in the matter of the nets it was demonstrated to me that within twenty-five minutes any submarine reported in most of our home waters can be inclosed in a steel trap from which there is no escape. The vague rumors that we heard in the earlier stages of the war led one to suppose that these nets might be used perhaps in the English Channel and other narrow waters. But I have seen traps a hundred miles long, traps that could

shift their position and change their shape at a signal.

A submarine may enter their seas, indeed, and even go to America. She may even do some damage within their lines. But, if she does this, her position is known, and, if there be any future damage done, it will probably have to be done by another submarine. For she has called upon a thousand perils, from every point of the compass, to close upon her return journey. I have actually seen the course of a German submarine—which thought itself undiscovered—marked from day to day on the chart at an English base. The clues to all the ramifications of this work are held by a few men at the Admiralty in London. Telephone and telegraph keep them in constant touch with every seaport in the kingdom. But let the reader consider the amount of quiet organization that went before all this. Even the manufacture of the nets—which do not last forever, even when made—is an industry in itself; and that is one of the least of a thousand activities.

Sailors' Awful Ordeal

[Mr. Noyes refers to the three English sailors who were captured from a trawler by a German submarine:]

They endured eighty hours' nightmare under the sea that shattered the mind of one and left permanent traces on the other two. Periodically revolvers were put to their heads, and they were ordered, on pain of death, to tell all they knew of our naval dispositions. They saw a good deal of the internal routine of the German submarine also; and noted, characteristically, that the German crew—on this boat, at any rate—were very "jumpy," too "jumpy" even to take a square meal. They munched biscuits at their stations at odd moments. On the third morning they heard guns going overhead, and watched the Germans handing out shells to their own guns. Finally a torpedo was fired, and they heard it take effect. Then they emerged into the red wash of dawn and saw only the floating wreckage of the big ship that had been sunk, and, among the wreckage, a small boat. They were

bundled into this, told they were free to row to England or Nineveh, and the submarine left them—three longshore fisherman, who had passed through the latest invention of the modern scientific devil, two who could still pull at the oars, but the other too crazy to steer, as his little personal part of the price paid by England for sweeping and patrolling the seas of civilization.

Many were the tales of neutrals, towed to port, battered but safe, by these indefatigable auxiliaries. One was towed in, upside down, by fixing an English anchor in one of her German-made shell holes; she was towed for a hundred miles, at a quarter of a knot an hour, and arrived for the Admiral at the base to make his inspection.

Attack on the Gulflight

The attack on the American steamship Gulflight was narrated to me as follows by the skipper of his Majesty's drifter Contrive:

"We had shot our nets, and about noon we saw a large tank steamer coming up channel at a good pace. She was coming in our direction, and I soon saw her colors, the Stars and Stripes, at the stern—a fine big ensign it was and spread out like a board. When she was about two miles off, to my horror I saw a submarine emerge from the depths and come right to the surface. There was no sign of life on the submarine, but she lay stationary, rising and falling in the trough, and I knew instinctively that she was watching the steamer. She had undoubtedly come from the same direction as that in which the steamer was going, and it did not take me long to realize what had actually happened. I took in the situation at a glance. The submarine had passed the Gulflight, (for that proved to be her name.) She had deliberately increased speed to lie in wait for her and get a sure target rather than attempt to fire a torpedo when overhauling her, with the possible chance of missing and wasting one of those expensive weapons, even on an American.

"The submarine was painted light gray and had two guns; but I could not

see any number. For five minutes she lay motionless—and then, having fixed the position of her prey, and taken her speed into consideration, she slowly submerged in its direction. I knew what was coming, and it came—a dull, heavy explosion and a silence, and then, as if to see the result of her handiwork, the submarine again appeared. She did not stay up long, as smoke was soon seen on the horizon, and I knew the patrols had been looking for her. She knew it, too—and submerged. I hauled in my nets and proceeded at full speed to the sinking ship to try and save the lives of the crew. Our boat was launched, and I went aboard. By this time the Gulflight's bows were well down and her fore decks awash, and she looked as if she would sink at any minute. She was badly holed in her fore part. The Huns, I thought, had done their work well.

"Ten minutes later I saw the patrol vessels racing up for all they were worth, and one of these vessels took off the crew, two of whom were drowned. The Captain of the Gulflight died of shock. Soon four patrol vessels were on the spot, and three of these vessels put men aboard with wires in double quick time. The fourth—a big trawler, with wireless (which I now know in naval language as a 'trawler leader')—steamed round and round in the vicinity, keeping a careful watch. In less than two hours the Gulflight, her Stars and Stripes still flying above water, was being towed at a good speed to port, with the trawlers in attendance."

Frightfulness Frightened

[Mr. Noyes tells how the trawlers have driven German submarines out of English waters, and narrates as follows a moving story of submarine frightfulness, which is an epic of unspeakable cruelty.]

It was on a fine Summer morning that the fishing trawler Victoria left a certain port beloved of Nelson to fish on the Labadie Bank. She carried a crew of nine men, together with a little boy named Jones—a friend of the skipper. He held under his arm a well-thumbed copy of "Treasure Island." Perhaps it was this book that had inspired him to

the adventure, for, though nobody quite believed at that time in the existence of the twentieth-century pirate, there was adventure in the air, and it was only after much pleading that he was allowed to go. This vessel, of course, was unarmed and used only for fishing. For a week all went well. There was a good catch of fish, splashing the rusty-red old craft with shining scales from bow to stern, and piling up below like mounded silver. The crew were beginning to think of their women at home and their accustomed nooks in the Lord Nelson and Blue Dolphin Taverns.

They were about 130 miles from land when the sound of a gun was heard by all hands. The boy Jones shut his book on his thumb and ran up to the bridge, where he stood by the skipper. In the distance, against the sunset, they saw the silhouette of a strange-looking ship. At first it looked like a drifter, painted gray, with mizzen set. But the flash of another gun revealed it as a submarine. The skipper hesitated. Should he stop the ship and trust to the laws of war and the good faith of the enemy? The lives of the crew and the little boy, who had been left in his charge, were his first thought. Yes, he would do so, and the order was given. The engines ceased to throb. Then, as the ship rolled idly, he was disillusioned. The gun flashed again, and he knew that he was facing an implacable determination to sink and destroy.

It was only a forlorn hope, but he would risk it, and not a man demurred at his decision. The engines rang "full speed ahead" and the Victoria began to tear through the green water for home. The submarine opened a rapid fire from two powerful guns, and the first to fall was the little lad Jones. The skipper kept steadily on his course, with the boy dead at his feet. But the submarine gained rapidly and continued to pour a devastating fire on the helpless craft. The skipper was struck next and blown to pieces. The bridge was a mass of bloody wreckage and torn flesh. The next shell shattered the tiny engine room and killed the engineman. The Victoria lay at the mercy of the enemy. The

submarine continued to close on her, and kept up a rapid fire, killing the mate and another engineman and severely wounding another. The four men who were left tried to save themselves. The boat had been smashed to splinters, and they jumped into the water with planks.

Careless of the men in the water, the submarine steamed up alongside the Victoria and sealed her fate by placing bombs aboard her. There was a violent explosion, and her wreckage, strewn over the face of the waters far and near, was the only relic of her existence. Not till nearly two hours after this were the four numbed and helpless men in the water taken aboard the submarine. They were placed down below, and, one by one, closely examined by the commander as to the system of patrols in the neighborhood. Dazed as they were, and hardly responsible for their actions, they one and all refused to answer their captors. Late that night they were told that the submarine was about to submerge, and, so far as they could gather, they proceeded below the surface for over twelve hours. They knew enough about the system of netting to know that they were in constant danger of being trapped in the belly of the sea and drowned, hideously, in the darkness, but not a man spoke. During the night they were given some coffee and a biscuit each, and the wound of one man, who had been badly lacerated by a shell, was dressed by the ship's surgeon. They lay in the semi-darkness, listening to the steady beat and hum of the engines and wondering what kind of a miracle could bring them to the light of day again.

Abandoned at Sea

On the next morning the trawler Hirose fell a victim to the same submarine. She was no sooner sighted than she was greeted with a hail of shot. She stopped and lowered a boat, while the enemy dashed up. The commander of the submarine shouted through a megaphone: "Leave your ship. I give you five minutes." The crew complied—there were ten hands all told—and were ordered aboard the submarine, while the Hirose was blown up. After being

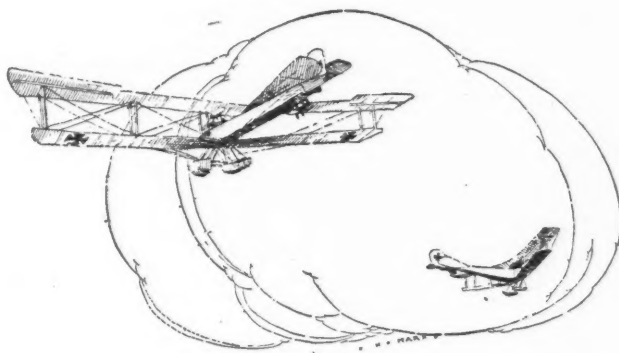
given six biscuits each the crew of the Hirose were put back in their boat. The survivors of the Victoria were ordered on deck and placed in the same boat. The submarine steamed away and shortly afterward dipped.

It was very dirty weather at this time. A strong gale blew and the rain drenched them. There were fourteen men crowded in a small trawler boat, a hundred miles from home. By dint of baling out the water continually, till their arms were numbed, they managed to keep afloat. Twenty-four hours later, at 6 o'clock in the morning, they were picked up by the collier Ballater about sixty miles off the Smalls Lighthouse. Their condition was then indescribable. Soaked through and through, with the boat half full of water, battered to and fro by every wave, they had lost all hope, and were lying exhausted. Their bodies were stiff with cramp, and they were hauled on board the Ballater with difficulty. But there, at least, they found the rough comfort of the sea. Each man was stripped and his clothes dried in the engine room. Hot coffee and food and blankets kept them alive till they reached port.

But the ordeal had left its mark upon them all; and when examined as to his experiences on board the submarine, the boatswain of the Victoria—a man of over sixty years—seemed to be too dazed to give any coherent reply. All that he could remember was the scene on the deck of the Victoria before the crew took

to the sea; and his description was that of a shambles, where six of his mates lay drenched with blood, some with their heads blown off, others screaming in agony, with arms and legs blown off; and in a chaos of escaping steam and wreckage the little boy Jones lying dead on the bridge.

The sinking of these fishing boats suddenly ceased, except on rare occasions; and, for certain reasons, it is now an acknowledged fact that when a submarine sees one it submerges or bolts immediately. Details must not be given; but these smaller fishing boats now form a class to themselves, and they are known among the other auxiliaries as "mystery ships." Only one hint I may give here. There was once upon a time a simple fishing boat shooting her fishing nets for simple fish. A submarine appeared and gave her men "five minutes, you swine!" Immediately there was a panic, which had been part of their drill in port. Two of the crew went on their knees for mercy, and others hauled at the boat like men possessed. * * * I must pass over the details once more; but the resultant picture was this: A dummy boat on deck in four pieces, and a fine big gun leveled straight at the submarine, attended by gunners of his Majesty's navy "like gods in poor disguise." There were two Germans kneeling for mercy; and after they had scrambled into safety there was an abolished submarine and oil upon many troubled waters.



The Titanic Struggle in Picardy

By the Editor

FIGHTING on the Somme has continued with unabated fury throughout the month just past.

The British and French armies, which come shoulder to shoulder near Combles, have kept up their slow, steady, forward push, with the constant accompaniment of a smashing hail of great shells which no defenses can withstand. At Bouchavesnes on Sept. 13 General Foch's men achieved what the Germans had believed impossible—they broke through the last line of the original German system of fortified trenches. Walls of reinforced concrete, powerful earthworks, vast mazes of barbed wire—all had been pounded into chaos. New trenches, of course, had been built behind the old, but the significance of the achievement remains. The last month also was marked by the appearance of a new type of armored motor car, which promises important results.

In the first two and one-half months of this offensive the Allies have taken 54,000 German prisoners, some thirty-odd villages, and a devastated section of France nearly thirty miles long and five or ten wide. The aggregate losses in killed and wounded are necessarily heavy on both sides.

Stubborn Thiepval

Two or three crises of more intense battle are seen to flame up from the level of the month's events. Around the fortified village of Thiepval, at the north end of the British sector, some of the fiercest fighting of the war has raged for weeks. On Aug. 21, after a bombardment of indescribable intensity, the British infantry went over the ground in waves across the tangled web of trenches and redoubts, capturing 200 prisoners and establishing themselves within a few hundred yards of the beleaguered German garrison of Thiepval; yet a full month later those heroic Germans still hold the Thiepval hills. The quality of their resistance may be guessed from this description of

the bombardment of Aug. 21, which is typical of many others since then:

"Suddenly, as if at the tap of a baton, the great orchestra of death crashed out. It is absurd to describe it; no words have been made for a modern bombardment of this intensity. One can only give a feebly inaccurate notion of what one big shell sounds like. When hundreds of heavy guns are firing upon one small line of ground and shells of the greatest size are rushing through the sky in flocks and bursting in masses, all description is futile. I can only say that the whole sky was resonant with waves of noise that were long drawn, like the deep notes of violins, gigantic and terrible in their power of sound, and that each vibration ended at last in a thunderous crash. It seemed as if the stars had fallen out of the sky and were rushing down to Thiepval."

Work of French Guns

While the British were pounding thus with strokes of Thor at the northern end of the Picardy front, the French were wiping out German trenches to the south along thirty miles of front with a storm of steel that lasted seventy-two hours. An artillery Lieutenant detailed to watch a small section of German trench tells what he saw:

"At first there was a series of earth fountains along the trench line, followed by great cones of smoke, which slowly collected over the wood itself, until the latter was hidden. Through glasses I could see that whole sectors of trench had closed up, burying the defenders. Constantly human limbs and bodies were visible among the upthrown earth and debris. At intervals a gray-green form would leap swiftly backward from the trenches, but the hazard from the incessant rain of steel fragments was too great, and gradually there grew a line of motionless bodies among the brushwood. I counted thirty-seven after three-quarters of an hour.

KING CONSTANTINE OF GREECE



Who Attempts to Remain Neutral in Spite of the Greek Nation's
Pro-Ally Sentiments.

(Photo from Puch Photo News.)

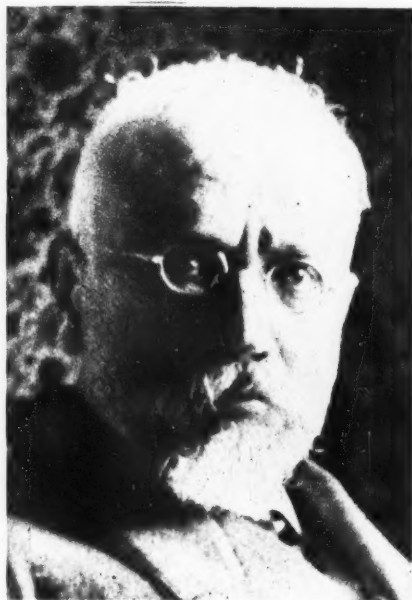
GREEK ROYALTY AND MINISTERS



Queen Sophia of Greece,
Sister of the German Kaiser.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)



Crown Prince George of
Greece.
(Photo from P. S. Rogers.)



Eleutherios Venizelos,
Former Premier of Greece.



Alexander Zaimis,
Present Premier of Greece.

"After eighty minutes I signaled, 'trench demolished,' and the bombardment ceased. I would have defied any one to point out where the trench had been. There was nothing but a line of hollows, hillocks, and shell holes. As the smoke cleared, I saw how excellent had been the aim on the communication trenches. Two open roads, each twenty feet wide, had been blasted through the wood. It was only the bodies, lying thick along both, that showed they had indeed been communication trenches.

"I continued to watch. Here and there a wounded wretch dragged himself painfully amid the tree stumps. Perhaps a few survived in the deepest dugouts, but as a practical unit the half battalion had ceased to exist. And, remember, that was a tiny sector. Add the total of such cases along the whole front, and you will realize why our victory is certain."

An Old-Style Battle

Near the centre these operations came to a dramatic climax on Sunday, Sept. 3, in the pitched battle that wrested Guillemont from the Germans on the British sector and gave the French near Clery the greatest victory since the offensive began. It was a battle of the old-fashioned kind in the open, a battle with bayonets between great forces. Between Maurepas and Clery, where the bloodiest fighting occurred, the French faced the Second Army Corps of Bavarians, crack troops ever in the forefront of battle, and next to them on the north was the Third Division of the German Imperial Guard under command of the Prince of Prussia. Opposite the British front the Kaiser's heroic Brandenburgers fought to hold Guillemont—fought fiercely, and failed. Nearly 80,000 of Germany's finest troops met this historic Anglo-French assault and had to give way.

The French reached the outskirts of Combes and remained firmly intrenched on the plateau overlooking the Bapaume-Peronne State road. Further south they gained a footing on Hill St. Quentin, dominating Peronne itself. More important still was the moral effect of having proved that not even Germany's best troops, in equal or superior numbers, and fully prepared for attack, could check a

French offensive. The French came out of the trenches cheering and singing, the Germans rushed to meet them. At Soyécourt the French charged with the bayonet, took the enemy's machine guns, and turned them upon their former owners. It was a great battle in the old-time sense, and a clean-cut victory.

The Fight for Guillemont

The British, at their end of the line, were fighting in like manner for Guillemont. Aviators who looked down upon the scene saw it as a mad football scrimmage of struggling figures. At midday the British went forward steadily in waves after a hurricane of fire from their heavy guns. The Germans flung 10,000 gas shells at them, enveloping them in poisonous vapors for hours, and German machine guns swept the ground with a storm of bullets; but the British took cover in the dips and hollows of the shell-tortured earth and reached the village.

For two weeks Guillemont had been the most completely devastated spot on the western front, for the British had been pounding it with every calibre of gun. It had ceased to be a village and become an iron and lead mine. More than 200,000 shells had burst in this once quiet hamlet of French homes, and 3,000,000 bullets had traversed the junk heap that now remained.

Twice the British had charged into and through the town, only to be forced out by the Germans. Now, sapping forward and connecting up the shell craters into trenches, they worked their way again to the village. The Germans, however, had established themselves in a small trench salient forty yards away, where the British guns dared not fire on them for fear of hitting their own men. Here the Germans had a machine gun that swept the English trenches; but the Britons and Irish, defying it, dashed through, cleaned out the nests of other machine guns in the village, and took up a strong position beyond in a sunken road.

South of Guillemont, one section of the Prussian Guard resisted desperately in Falfemont Farm and wedge wood, and

here bombing and hand-to-hand fighting continued until the British captured the position next day. The scene is thus described by Philip Gibbs:

"The way to the trenches was the most amazing scene of the war—more terrible and wonderful and as great a battle picture as any I had seen before. Everywhere along the way which leads to the country between Hardecourt and Maurepas, there is great desolation and ruin of all the things that grew or stood upon the earth. Here, for two miles or so, a long avenue of trees is a highway of violence. Not a tree stands whole, and their great trunks have been slashed and broken by the shell fire and lie with ragged stumps—great giants—across the unending shell craters there.

"On one side was Maurepas, a few brick ruins standing in the midst of bare black trunks and naked branches. In a turmoil of shell craters on the other side was Guillemont. I could see every tree in it and one solitary shell of a barn and a few black German crosses to their dead and blown-out dugouts on the southern side."

Irish regiments played a gallant part in the taking of Guillemont, and a week later it was the men from Munster, Dublin, Connaught, and the west and south of Ireland who captured Ginchy. They came out of the battle weary and spent, and left many good comrades behind, but they still marched proudly. "A great painter," says an eyewitness, "would have found here a subject to thrill his soul—that long trail of Irish regiments, some of them reduced by losses and with but few officers to lead them. Ahead of them walked one Irish piper, playing them home to the harvest fields of peace, with a lament for those who will never come back."

New Armored Monsters

Another day of great remembrance for the British was Sept. 15, when their soldiers broke through the German third line and went out into the open country to deal new blows to the war machine that had seemed so incredibly strong before the days of Verdun. A new element was introduced that day in the form of enormous armored motor cars that travel

on caterpillar feet right across shell craters, over German trenches, through brick walls and ruined houses, smashing their way through everything like monsters from prehistoric ages. As for trees in their way—"they simply love trees," as one officer remarked. They wear a steel armor that makes them impervious to bullets and ordinary shell fragments; in short, they promise to play the rôle of veritable dreadnoughts on land.

Tommy Atkins promptly dubbed these modern ichthyosaurs "tanks" or "Willies," greeting them with roars of laughter as they crawled with uncanny nonchalance across craters and earthworks until they poured their fiery breath into the enemy trenches. One writer compares them to toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn. They have furnished both humor and aid to the Allies on the Somme since the day of their début. The fact that their mysterious internal organs were manufactured by a farm tractor company in Peoria, Ill., does not alter the other fact that in their armored form they are a British innovation. They seem destined to do deadly work as they sprawl across enemy trenches, enfilading them with machine-gun fire, and themselves as indifferent to rifle bullets as a rhinoceros to mosquito bites.

The Fall of Falkenhayn

The battle of the Somme has an evident connection with the recent fall of General von Falkenhayn from the position at the head of the Kaiser's Great General Staff. A press dispatch of Sept. 19, which states that the headquarters of the Great General Staff have been removed from the western front to the eastern, apparently confirms the triumph of Hindenburg's policy over that of Falkenhayn and of the Berlin Court faction which had dominated military affairs since the beginning of the war, and earlier. A Rotterdam correspondent tells the story substantially as follows:

In January, 1916, there was a bitter controversy between Generals Falkenhayn and Hindenburg regarding the conduct of the war. Hindenburg was utterly opposed to any big offensive in France.

He advised striking another blow immediately at Russia, and was already preparing a new offensive there behind Courland. General Falkenhayn, however, refused to give him the additional forces necessary for this purpose, and Hindenburg's plan was overruled in favor of an offensive against Verdun. The German Crown Prince is believed to have been the sustaining power behind Falkenhayn in making this disastrous decision.

Before the failure at Verdun was fairly written into history the Anglo-French drive on the Somme came to

emphasize the extent of the error. The Kaiser at last turned to Hindenburg, elevating him to supreme military power in place of the Court favorite, Falkenhayn, but too late to undo all the harm that had been done to Hohenzollern prestige. For the deposition of Falkenhayn necessarily involved a certain discrediting of the Crown Prince and his ultra-militaristic following. Thus the radical change in the General Staff is taken by the outside world to indicate the extent of a reaction in Germany against the faction primarily responsible for the war.

Italy and Germany Formally at War

THOUGH Italy has been at war with Austria since May 23, 1915, and has been practically in the same hostile relations with Austria's ally, Germany, for an equal length of time, the formal declaration of a state of war with the latter nation dates only from Aug. 28, 1916. Official notification of the event was transmitted to the United States in the following note to Secretary Lansing from Count Macchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador, who was then sojourning at a Massachusetts Summer resort:

From Royal Italian Embassy.

Beverly Farms, Mass., Aug. 28, 1916.
To Mr. Secretary of State:

I have the honor to address the following communication to your Excellency in the name of the King's Government:

Systematically hostile acts on the part of the German Government to the detriment of Italy have succeeded one another with increasing frequency, consisting of both an actual warlike participation and economic measures of every kind.

With regard to the former, it will suffice to mention the reiterated supplies of arms and of instruments of war, terrestrial and maritime, furnished by Germany to Austria-Hungary, and the uninterrupted participation of German officers, soldiers, and seamen in the various operations of war directed against Italy. In fact, it is only thanks to the assistance afforded her by

Germany in the most varied forms that Austria-Hungary has recently been able to concentrate her most extensive effort against Italy. It is also worth while to recall the transmission by the German Government to Austria-Hungary of the Italian prisoners who had escaped from the Austro-Hungarian concentration camps and taken refuge in German territory.

Among the measures of an economic character which were hostile to Italy it will be sufficient to cite the invitation which at the instance of the Imperial Department of Foreign Affairs was directed to German credit institutions and bankers to consider every Italian citizen as a hostile foreigner and to suspend payments to him; also the suspension of payments to Italian laborers of the pensions due them by virtue of a formal provision of the German law.

The Government of his Majesty the King did not think that it could longer tolerate such a state of affairs, which aggravates, to the exclusive detriment of Italy, the sharp contrast between the *de facto* and the *de jure* situation already arising from the fact of the alliance of Italy and of Germany with two groups of nations at war with one another.

For these reasons the Royal Government has, in the name of his Majesty the King, notified the German Government through the Swiss Government, that, as from today, Aug. 28, Italy considers herself in a state of war with Germany.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary of State, the assurances of my highest regards.

MACCHI DI CELLERE.

The Army Behind the Army

By Lord Northcliffe

Owner of The London Times and London Mail

Lord Northcliffe's article was written at the British front in France just before the storming of Pozières in August.

TAKE this powerful pair of field-glasses in your hand. They were captured in a German dugout, and bear the famous mark of Zeiss of Jena. Adjust them carefully and look well over to where dark clouds of shells are bursting so rapidly that they form what looks like a dense mass of London fog, with continuous brief and vivid flashes of explosions. That is Pozières. That is how Fricourt looked and how Longueval is looking on the day this is penned. From behind where we sit ensconced in an old German trench there come night and day the bang and the far-traveling scream of British shells. It does not seem possible that any one can emerge alive from those bombarded villages.

From north to south is an irregular chain of watchful observation balloons. High and glittering in the sunshine are planes, directed as often as not by boys who in happier times would be in the boats or the playing fields. Their heroism during the last few weeks has never been equaled, except in this war.

Along the Somme

The battles of the Somme are not, of course, so easily witnessed as those which can be seen from the heights around Verdun, but they are a great deal more visible and understandable than the depressing artillery duels in the plains and swamps of Flanders. Neither photographs nor maps give much real impression of the great panorama, which is, indeed, only possible for an onlooker to understand when accompanied by one who has witnessed the steady conquest of the German trenches from the beginning of the movement which was made on July 1. What is easy to realize, and so cheering to our soldiers, is that we give the Germans full measure and more in the matter of guns and shells. A

couple of hours in any place where the battles can be properly observed is enough for the nerves of the average civilian, for to see battles properly one must be well in reach of the enemy, and so when we have had our fill we make our way along a communication trench to where a small and unobtrusive motor has been hidden.

Presently we come to the roads where one sees one of the triumphs of the war, the transport which brings the ammunition for the guns and the food for the men, a transport which has had to meet all kinds of unexpected difficulties. The last is water, for our troops are approaching a part of France which is as chalky and dry as the South Downs of England.

A Great Organization

Some researches with a view to placing on record the work of the British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John in their relations to the wonderful Army Medical Service in France have brought the writer into touch with almost the most splendid achievement of the war, the building up of the great organization that lies between the Somme and the British Isles.

Communication being as urgent as transport, the Royal Engineers have seen to it that the large area of Northern and Northwest France in which our armies are operating has been linked up by a telephonic system unique. It is no mere collection of temporary wires strung from tree to tree. The poles and wires are in every way as good as those of the Post Office at home. The installation might indeed be thought to be extravagant, but cheap telephoning is notoriously bad telephoning. A breakdown of communications which might be caused by the fierce wind and electric storms which have happened so frequently in the war might spell a great inconvenience or even

worse. An indistinct telephone is useless. And so, marching with the army, and linking up a thousand essential points, is a telephone service that cannot be bettered. Today it would be quite possible for the Commander in Chief, if he so desired, to call up London from beyond Fricourt, for our wires are already in places where we saw them burying the blackened corpses of dead Germans, and where the sound of great guns makes it sometimes necessary to shout in order to make one's self heard in a conversation.

Army Telephones

Every officer or head of department of importance in the British zone has a telephone at his hand, so that he may give and receive orders, not absolutely secret, by the quickest and most popular means of communication. Where necessary, the English telephones are linked up with the trunk lines of the French Government, for which purposes interpreters are placed in the exchanges. The speed of communication is remarkable. It varies, of course, with the amount of business, but I have seen a man call up Paris, London, and the seaport bases in France all within an hour.

Supplementing the telephonic system is a telegraphic link, and there is also the wireless. The Army Signal Corps is to be congratulated on a fine achievement. Over and above these there are the motor dispatch riders, some of whose experiences during the war have been as thrilling as those of our air boys. The noisy nuisance of our peace-time roads at home has been a prime factor in the prompt waging of war. Motor cycles and portable telephones appear in the most out-of-the-way spots. Far beyond Fricourt I met these cyclists making their way in and out and around the shell holes.

A few days later when visiting one of the workshops at the base I saw the wrecks of similar machines twisted and smashed out of all recognition by shrapnel, each speaking of an adventure, and perhaps a tragedy. The fact that these derelicts were being examined for possible repair is a portent of the rigid economy with which, on the French side

of the Channel at any rate, and perhaps on both, the war is now being conducted.

An Aeroplane's Staff

The war plane of 1916 flies upward and away with the speed and grace of a dragon fly. She has been made perfect and beautiful for her flight by skilled expert mechanics. When she returns after, let us hope, her conquest, the boys who have escorted her in the air (one of these I met was at school last year) hand her over again to those attendants to see if she has any rent in her gown or other mishap which may be speedily mended. When, therefore, you see an aeroplane you must realize that each machine has its staff. Speed and efficiency being prime essentials of victory, her caretakers must be skilled and young. As for her supplies, there must be at hand a great quantity of spare parts ready to be applied instantaneously, and there must be men, in case of need, who can either alter or even make such parts. There must be those who understand her camera and its repair, her wireless and its working, men who have already learned the mysteries of the newest bombs, rockets, and machine guns. I take the aeroplane as an instance because of its prominence in the public eye.

What applies to an aeroplane applies in other degrees to every kind of gun, to every form of motor or horse transport, ambulances, field kitchens, filters, and to a thousand articles which at first sight do not necessarily seem to be part of war making.

The army behind the army is full of originality. It has already improved, on the spot, much machinery which we had thought to have attained perfection. This is a war of machinery as well as of bravery, and among Germany's many blunders was her forgetfulness of the British power of quick improvisation and organization in unexpected circumstances, which is a secret of our success in building up the empire in strange lands.

The army behind the army is being squeezed for men for the front. In some places it can legitimately bear more squeezing, and it is getting it. On the other hand, owing to their own burning desire or by the pressure of the authori-

ties men have left the anvil, the tools, the lathe, or the foundry for the firing line who in the end would have killed more Germans by the use of their own particular skill in the workshop.

Our L. of C. in France (line of communication) has developed to what must be one of the largest organizations in the world. It represents 6 per cent. of the whole of our forces in France. It has to deal with more spheres of human industry than I should be allowed to mention. Its personnel is being revised continually by medical examinations that eliminate fit men for the trenches. The task is a delicate one. An organization absolutely essential to victory has at length, and after infinite labor, by promotion of the skilled and rejection of the incompetent, been set on its feet. We must make changes with caution.

Economy and Salvage

At various times I have personally observed the great organizations of the Clyde, the Tyne, of Belfast, of Woolwich, Chicago, in and around Paris, at St. Etienne, and in the Creusot works, in Hamburg, in Essen, and at Hoechst on the Rhine, and I say without hesitation that, making allowances for war time, our lines of communication organization, super-imposed as it is upon the over-worked French railways and roads, and in a country where there is no native labor to be had, is, in August, 1916, as near perfection as ever it can be. And I say more, that, difficult as economy and war are to mate, I have on the occasion of this visit and in contrast to the days of 1914 seen nothing wasted. In the early months of the war there was waste at home and abroad arising from lack of control of our national habit of spending money with both hands. I remember a certain French village I visited where every tiny mite was filling its mouth with English bread and jam. Today there is enough food and a greater variety of foods than before, but there is no waste that is visible even to an inquisitive critic.

Coming to the front, not only in the high commands and among regimental officers and along the line of communication, is a pleasing proportion of Scotch

folk who, while generous in the giving of ambulances, are not accustomed to waste anything in war or at any other time. Today, almost before the reek and fume of battle are over, almost before our own and the enemy dead are all buried, the Salvage Corps appears on the bloody and shell-churned scene to collect and pile unused cartridge and machine gun belts, unexploded bombs, old shell cases, damaged rifles, haversacks, steel helmets, and even old rags, which go to the base and are sold at \$250 a ton. It is only old bottles, which with old newspapers, letters, meat tins, and broken boxes are a feature of the battlefields that do not appear to be worthy of salvage.

Regarding the utilization of waste products there is as much ingenuity and industry along the lines of communication as would satisfy the directorate of the most highly overorganized German fabrik. At one place I saw over 1,000 French and Belgian girls cleansing and repairing clothing that had come back from the front. They work and talk and sing with alacrity, and I witnessed the process of the patching and reconstructing of what looked like an impossible waterproof coat, all in the course of a few moments. Such labor saves the British Nation hundreds of thousands of pounds, and is considered well rewarded at a wage of half a crown (62½ cents) a day.

Elsewhere I saw men using the most modern Northampton machinery for soling and heeling any pair of old boots that would stand the operation, and such footgear as was useless was not wasted, for by an ingenious contrivance invented on the spot by a young Dublin bootmaker the upper parts of such boots were being converted into bootlaces by the thousand.

In the army machine shops the waste grease is saved and the oil which escapes from every such establishment is ingeniously trapped and sold to local soap makers at the equivalent of its present very high value.

Workmen Translated

Since the early days of chaos and muddle we have conveyed across the seas

machine shops and mechanics which must exceed by twice or thrice the total of those in a humming town like Coventry. Such factories have had to be manned, and manned with labor able to meet the sudden emergencies of war. The labor has all had to come from home. Clerks, engineers, fitters, mechanics, quickly settled down to the monotonous regularity of military life and the communal existence of the barracks, huts, and tents in which they live. True it is that every consideration possible has been shown for their happiness, comfort, and amusement. They have their own excellent canteens, reading rooms, and places of entertainment. They are not forgotten by the Y. M. C. A. or by the Salvation Army and Church Army, whose work cannot be too highly spoken of. They are individually looked after by their own heads of departments with solicitude and kindness. The gramophone, the joy of the dugouts, the hospitals, and the billets, is a never-ending source of entertainment.

The workers are by no means unable to amuse themselves. They are well provided with cinematographs and frequent boxing tournaments. Gardening, too, is one of their hobbies, and from the casualty clearing stations at the front to the workers' huts at the bases are to be counted thousands of English-made gardens. The French, who know as little of us as we do of them, were not a little surprised to find that, wherever he sojourns, the British workman insists on making himself a garden.

Huge bakeries, the gigantic storehouses, (one is the largest in the world,) factories, and repair shops are filled with workers who are a visible contradiction of the allegations as to the alleged slackness of the British workman. The jealousy that exists in peace times between most army and civilian establishments does not seem to be known.

The War Atmosphere

The authorities at home seem to hide our German prisoners. In France they work, and in public, and are content with their lot. Save for the letters "P. G." (prisonnier de guerre) at the back of their coats it would be difficult to realize that comfortable-looking, middle-aged

Landsturm Hans, with his long pipe, and young Fritz, with his cigarette, were prisoners at all.

The war atmosphere and the patriotic keenness of the skilled mechanics and labor battalions in France have enabled the Commander in Chief, Sir Douglas Haig, who has personally visited the bases in hurried journeys from the front, to accomplish what in peace time would be the impossible. Transport alone is a miracle. The railways are so incumbered that it is frequent to see trains nearly a kilometer (five-eighths of a mile) in length. As one travels about in search of information mile-long convoys of motor lorries loom quickly toward one from out of the dense dust, and it is by this combination of rail and road that the almost impossible task has been achieved of keeping pace with the German strategic railways, which were built for the sole purpose of the quick expedition of men and supplies.

Vast War Schools

Scattered through the army behind the army are schools where war is taught by officers who have studied the art at the front. Here in vast camps the spectator might easily imagine that he was at the front itself. Here the pupils fresh from England are drilled in every form of fighting.

There is something uncanny in the approach of a company to a communication trench, in its vanishing under the earth, and its reappearance some hundreds of yards away, where clambering "over the top," to use the most poignant expression of the war, the soldier pupils dash forward in a vociferous bayonet charge. At these great reinforcement camps are gas mask attacks, where pupils are passed through underground chambers, filled with real gas, that they may become familiarized with one of the worst curses of warfare. The gas itself is a subtle and at first not a very fearsome enemy, but the victim is apt to be overcome before he is aware of it.

And at these miniature battlefields, all of them larger than the field of Waterloo, are demonstration lecturers who teach bombing, first with toy bombs that explode harmlessly with a slight puff,

and then with the real Mills bombs which have a noisy and destructive effect altogether disproportionate to their size and innocent appearance. The various types of machine guns are fired at ingenious targets all the day long. There are actual dugouts in which pupils are interned with entrances closed while gas is profusely projected around them, so that they may learn how to deal with the new weapon by spraying it and flapping it away when the entrance is uncovered at a given signal. Crater fighting is taught with an actual reproduction of a crater, by a lusty Sergeant who has seen much of the actual thing, and tells the men what to do with their bombs and with Germans.

German Prisoners

In the centre of one of these schools there arrived, while I was on the scene, a great number of German prisoners on their way to the base. I do not know how many young soldiers just landed from England were being trained that day. Certainly many, many thousands, and I do not wonder that the prisoners were amazed at the spectacle before them. One of them frankly confessed in excellent English that his comrades were under the impression that we had no men left. The food supplied to these German prisoners here, as everywhere, was excellent, and they did not hesitate to say so. Temporary baths and other washing arrangements were fitted up for them, they had an abundance of tobacco, and were just as comfortably off in their tents as our soldiers not actually in barracks. Their condition on arrival here, as elsewhere, was appalling. Imprisoned in their trenches by our barrage of fire, they had been deprived of many of the necessities of life for days, and on their arrival ate ravenously. Most of them were Prussian Guards and Bavarians, and the number who had the Iron Cross ribbon in their buttonholes was eloquent testimony to the type of enemy troops our new armies have been fighting.

In one great branch of the clerical departments is kept a complete record of every British soldier from the hour of his arrival in France to his departure, or death. Think of the countless essential correspondence and forms that must

necessarily be filled up to achieve that end efficiently and with accuracy.

Another department, which exists for the satisfaction of relatives and possible decisions in the Court of Probate, keeps an exact record of the time of death and place of burial of every officer and private soldier in France, whether he comes from the British Islands or the dominions. Such establishments necessarily demand the use of much clerical labor.

It should be remembered always, in regard to such a department as that which follows the course of every soldier in France, that a Tommy is a difficult person to deal with. It is more than possible that there is a considerable number of men who have been reported as missing and dead who are not missing or dead at all. One case was discovered while I was at a certain office. It was that of a soldier who had been reported missing for more than a year, but who was found in comfortable surroundings doing duty as an army cook in a totally different part of the field to that in which he disappeared.

A Pathetic Duty

There are countless departments of which the public knows nothing. I have only space and time to deal with one more. It is that which watches over the recovery of the effects of dead men and officers. There are separate departments for each, but I only saw that affecting the men.

The work begins on the battlefield and in the hospitals, where I saw the dead bodies being reverently searched. A list is carefully made there and then, and that list accompanies the little familiar belongings that are a part of every man's life to one of the great bases on the lines of communication. The bag is there opened by two clerks, who check it once more, securely fastening it, and sending it home, where it eventually reaches the next of kin. I watched the opening of one such pathetic parcel during the final checking. It contained a few pence, a pipe, a photo of wife and bairn, a trench ring made of the aluminium of an enemy fuze, a small diary, and a pouch. It was all the man had.

They told me that nearly every soldier carries a souvenir. In one haversack was found a huge piece of German shell which had probably been carried for months. The relatives at home set great store on these little treasures, and though the proper officials to address are those at the War Office, London, the people in France are often in receipt of indignant letters from relatives asking why this or that trifle has not been returned.

One of them which arrived that day

said: "I gave my son to the war, you have had him, you might at least return all his property intact. Where are the pair of gloves and zinc ointment he had with him?"

The work of collecting these last mementos of the dead is carried out with promptness, care, and very kindly feeling, despite the monotony of the task, which begins in the morning and goes on to the evening, a task which is increasing daily with the size of the war.

Preparing the Somme Offensive

By a French Officer

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from L'Illustration]

IT will be one of the greatest claims to honor of the French General Staff that during the very height of the battle of Verdun they staged the offensive on the Somme. The Germans, on their part, had had, from the close of the battle of Champagne (September-October, 1915) to the last days of February, 1916, four months of relative calm on the western front, to prepare their undertaking on the Meuse, (Verdun.) On the contrary, it was while victoriously resisting the most powerful effort of the German Army that our high command conceived and realized another battle.

What the preparation of an offensive is we shall try to indicate by broad strokes. The region behind the battle front is an immense workshop, in which the instruments of battle are manufactured; arms, munitions, material of every kind, brought regularly to the advanced depots and put at the disposal of the leaders for the execution of their plans. The representatives of the nation, the people, all will co-operate, each according to his rôle. The advanced position becomes a great storeyard, in view of the coming battle.

First, the ground must be prepared. The engineer corps construct railroads: lines of normal gauge, with large capacity, along which circulate enormous

tonnages of munitions, supplies of every kind, and also the heavy guns mounted on rails; lines of twenty-four inches gauge, which will make it possible to carry munitions far forward, and which will form a network serving all the depots. It is necessary to lay the rock ballast, and for this purpose quarries are opened and worked, a system of military trains established. And when the track has been laid it is necessary to construct the stations and platforms. Plank villages thus rise from the earth in a few days.

To fix the position of munition depot is a problem. It must be hidden from the enemy's view, as much as possible in a dead angle, in order that it may escape artillery fire. About the depots, along the roads everywhere, it is necessary to dig shelters, to establish first-aid posts, to burrow into the earth. While these excavations are going on other forces of men build new roads, widen the old roads, mend them, regulate traffic on them. Further forward they are working at the trenches, at the connecting trenches, which must be wide and numerous, and at the troop quarters. This is only a part of the task. Add the reconnaissance of artillery emplacements, the installation of platforms, the organization of the ground. And all this activity, carried out through several

weeks, must escape the notice of the enemy, his observers and aviators must discover nothing of it. But we, on the contrary, must be perfectly informed as to what is going on within his lines.

It has been told how, before the release of our offensive and during its opening days, the German Drachen were rendered incapable of accomplishing their work by our aviators. Since that time the enemy "sausages" have only attempted a few ascensions at long intervals, and quickly interrupted by the apparition of one of our pilots. And just as the captive balloons were unable to remain in the air, so the German aviators were unable to pass behind our lines. But if the enemy was ignorant of our preparations, we were well informed as to his organization. The position of his lines, the defensive works, the gun emplacements, had all been sighted and measured.

The destruction caused by our artillery was regularly followed. In order to learn the effect of a shot several means are employed. The first is to send patrols to find out the condition of barbed-wire entanglements and defensive works. But human testimony is always fallible; the conditions of observation during the night are bad; it is possible to see one point and not see a neighboring point, or to be completely prevented from seeing anything by bullets or machine-gun fire. But we have at our disposal an eye which makes no mistakes: the eye of the photographic lens—and aerial photography is yet another new tool for our aviators.

Every evening before the battle of the Somme was begun a map of the German trenches was drawn up, in accordance with what the photographs revealed. On it was distinctly marked what had been completely destroyed, what was not, and what was incompletely indicated. Thus, the corps were informed as to the work of their artillery and as to what remained to be done. The conditions of a complete preparation were wanted. And they were gained, to the complete satisfaction of our infantrymen. The German first-line trenches were leveled; the nets of barbed wire,

however closely woven they might be, were annihilated; the most substantial organizations were knocked into ruins.

One of the first problems of armies during a campaign is that of communications. It can be imagined to what a degree, in a war in which the fronts have become stabilized, among an infinity of wheels and organisms, this problem is complicated, and what an amount of new works an offensive will require. In this domain the installation of telephone lines dominates everything. It could never have been imagined beforehand to what an extent they would be employed. In August, 1914, if the General Staffs of the armies were connected by telephone with their army corps, that was as far as matters went. In the war of movement there were, to carry orders, connecting agents and messengers.

Today not a service but has its telephone line, and in constant use. For the artillery, the telephone is the indispensable auxiliary; it is by telephone that the observers in balloons communicate with the batteries. Therefore, how much work and what consumption of telephone wire! On July 15, 1916, 12,420 miles of wire were in use in the army of the Somme. A thousand telephone operators were employed. Wireless telegraphy also renders precious services, particularly in the control of gunfire. But each of these organs of the army would deserve a special study, and our purpose is only to show what a battle is.

When these immense works of organization have been accomplished, when what would require a year and more in normal life has been realized in a few weeks, when everything is in place, the hour of battle arrives. The date is chosen, the hour is fixed, the moment when the assault is to begin.

Then from the lines of departure, from which they have started, to the enemy positions which they are approaching, the actual fighters have to play their part. In the complexity of the conflict, the dispersion of the action, and the episodes of the battle, the high command of the army does not intervene. It will recommence its activity as soon as the general devel-

opment of the situation becomes known to it; up to that moment it is the leaders of the small units who orient the battle. It is they who work for success. But behind them the immense, minutely regulated machine is carrying on its work.

To begin with, it is necessary to be informed, quickly and well, as to the positions attained. Reinforcements must be pushed forward, and the battle must be fed. All the experiments which have been made are utilized in order that connections may work as perfectly as possible. Heliographs, flags, optical signals, Bengal fire, runners when the lines are cut—every system is put into use. But the services of the infantry airmen have been particularly remarkable. And the officers detailed to orient the artillery, going forward with the waves of the assault and followed by a telephonist unrolling his reel, keep the firing batteries perfectly informed as to the points hit and the shots to make. The barrier fire follows the movements of the infantry in their advance.

The infantry has reached the objectives which were fixed for it. It must now stop there and consolidate its position. Behind it also begin the organization of the conquest and the preparation for the next battle.

First the communications. The telephonists install a new network, utilize the newly won emplacements, place their apparatus. The French advance on the north and on the south of the Somme, and during the first ten days of the battle they install 500 miles of new telephone wires. The blocked passages of the deeper trenches, broken down by shells, are put in order. The materials

and the workmen must be brought forward, then, to begin with; the loose earth in the enormous holes left by the large-calibre shells must all be removed and replaced by pebbles; then earth must be added and the whole rammed down hard. And this difficult task has often been performed under enemy shells.

Each day the ravages of the day before must be repaired. The arrival of supplies must be made secure, the passage of carts and movable kitchens must be provided for; new emplacements for batteries and for observers must be sought; drinking water must be brought—13,200 gallons, at least, for each army corps; the crews of well sinkers must be pushed forward to the conquered villages, the water must be sampled, tested for poisons, for it may always be feared that the conquered Germans, before abandoning a position, may have poisoned the wells. The depots of munitions and material must also be moved forward, the troops who are to take up positions in an unknown territory must be oriented, the traffic control must be organized.

And in the rear, while the front is being organized, the animation redoubles and extends. The convoys come up in order, the regiments march toward their destined stations, the wagons of the sanitary department go and return, and the railroads are busy. Along the road reserved for motor traffic the regulating commission exercises its function, as it was organized in the Verdun region, each of its divisions assuring good circulation along a fixed space.

Everything is order and method. Each one knows his rôle—and fills it.



[SECOND INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. See map on page 48]

IN the period beginning July 20 the struggle was, above all, an artillery duel; under the protection of their cannon, the British troops, with unwearying tenacity, gained ground little by little, dislodging the enemy by grenade attacks and hand-to-hand fighting. These encounters took place along the whole front, from the Leipzig redoubt, close to Thiepval, to the Delville Wood, which touches Longueval. Between this village and Bazentin, the enemy, during July 20, was pressed back to a depth of a kilometer, but he resisted fiercely throughout the night. Our allies had reached the Fourceaux Wood, ("High Wood";) they were there subjected to a bombardment with the aid of asphyxiating shells and were compelled to abandon the northern part of the wood.

On July 23 the battle suddenly assumed a new vigor, from Pozières, on the road from Albert to Bapaume, as far as Guillemont, between Montauban and Combles. It attained its greatest height of fury on the two wings. Pozières, which stretches along an exceedingly gentle slope, with a windmill at 160-Meter Hill, is the culminating point of the whole region in which the boundaries of Picardy and Artois meet. The vistas are immense. For this reason the Germans had made of Pozières a redoubtable fortress, which it was necessary to smash to pieces with shells, though even then its defenders were not driven out. English and Australian troops launched in an assault succeeded, only after midnight, in carrying the advanced trenches, and were then able to enter the village, which is built chiefly along the two sides of the highway. The village had to be taken house by house; on Monday morn-

ing, July 24, the Germans were still in possession of a considerable part of the village; two guns and 150 prisoners were gathered in by the Australians. On Tuesday, July 25, the Germans retook several houses on the north side of the village, from which they were finally driven on Wednesday morning, July 26. Having made themselves masters of this position, to which the enemy attached great importance, the British troops turned toward the west, that is, toward Thiepval.

In the centre, Longueval, which the enemy had retaken, was carried on July 23; the enemy in his turn captured that portion which marches with the Delville Wood. This wood and, in the direction of Guillemont, the ground occupied by the Waterlot Farm, were also twice taken and retaken. The battle was carried on furiously by hand-to-hand fights and grenades. At the close of Tuesday, July 25, our allies had made a certain amount of progress, in spite of continuous bombardment. All the enemy's attempts to advance were repulsed.

On Thursday, July 20, while the British troops were developing their movement between the Leipzig redoubt and the approaches of Guillemont, the French troops were attacking on both sides of the Somme. To the north the movement started from Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, and was directed toward the point where the great winding dry ravine, which begins near Combles, comes out on the Somme. Our progress halted at the lip of this ravine near the narrow-gauge railroad which runs up it. Thereafter our soldiers in this sector limited themselves to consolidating their positions; only the artillery intervened, to support

the English in their attacks between Delville Wood and Guillemont. We took 400 prisoners.

A more extensive movement was developed on the same day, Thursday, July 20, to the south of the Somme and the highway from Peronne to Amiens, at first from Barleux to Soyécourt, then toward Vermandovillers, one and one-quarter miles to the north of Chaulnes. The whole of the first line of the enemy trenches was carried. Few details of this fighting have been given; yet they were very important, as they raised to 2,900 the number of prisoners taken on this day on both banks of the Somme. Thirty officers surrendered, three guns and thirty machine guns were taken. The enemy attempted to counterattack at one point only, to the south of Soyécourt. A battalion launched against our lines was crushed by our barrier fire, and retreated in disorder. On July 23 a new attack took place during the night; it was not more successful. On the morning of the following day our troops, in a local action, carried an enemy battery of mine-throwers to the south of Estrées and several machine guns.

During the evening we resumed our attacks in the neighborhood of Estrées, to dislodge the enemy from a group of houses which they had fortified on the south side of the village; the movement was successful. At the same moment another attack gave us possession of trenches between Soyécourt and Vermandovillers. In these engagements 117 prisoners and 3 more guns were taken.

The enemy took the offensive only to the south of Chaulnes, near Maucourt, where, on the morning of July 21, he tried to reach our lines; he was driven back by a bayonet charge.

From this time until Sunday, July 30, quiet reigned on both banks of the Somme. To the south reconnaissances or scouting movements of the enemy were repulsed at Soyécourt, Vermandovillers, and Lihons-en-Santerre, then once more, on July 29 and 31, at Lihons.

On July 30 we resumed the offensive to the north, in conjunction with the English. It will be remembered that we had there occupied a line formed by the

railroad which follows the hollow of the dry ravine at Combles, beginning at 139-Meter Hill, a kilometer (1,086 yards) from Hardecourt, and reaching to the Somme. At the level of Hem our front left the ravine to go direct to this village, before which we held the Monacu Farm. This represents a distance of four and one-third miles. The whole sector was covered in a single advance movement. During the forenoon the enemy's trenches fell into our hands, to a depth varying from 217 to 869 yards. The Combles ravine was crossed; our soldiers reached the first houses of Maurepas, a large village which covers the hillside on the left bank, and half surrounded that fortified position. Toward Hem, between the Albert road and the railway station, we carried a small intrenched wood and a quarry. Finally the Monacu Farm was completely in our hands.

This success gave us assured possession of the highway crossing the Somme and the canal to Feuillères; it gave us a direct communication between the two groups of Hardecourt and the loop of the Somme. The only fixed bridge downstream is at Eclusier; to make use of it, to go from Feuillères to Monacu, represents a detour of more than nine miles, while from Feuillères to Monacu is not 540 yards. This makes clear the importance of our gain and the immediate attempts of the enemy to drive us from Monacu Farm and the Hem Wood.

Repulsed in the afternoon, after extremely violent attacks, the Germans returned to the charge during the evening and a part of the night. At one time, they gained a footing in the farm, but a superb assault by our soldiers drove them out. During the whole of Monday, July 31, they redoubled their efforts, without penetrating our lines. In the evening, exhausted by their terrible losses, they gave it up. Our defense was supported by the batteries in the loop of the Somme; from the steep hills which dominate the valley they enfiladed the assaulting massed troops and mowed down whole lines.

This support enabled us to carry a powerful fortified work which the enemy still held between Hem Wood and Monacu.

The British troops had less respite than the French. From July 27 to July 30 the struggle was continuous, the enemy preparing his assaults by an intense bombardment with asphyxiating shells. On the morning of July 27 the Germans, who, during the night, had lost a trench to the north of Pozières and Bazentin-the-Less, threw themselves on this work and retook it; our allies forthwith took it back again. At the same time they attacked the parts of Longueval and the Delville Wood which had remained in the possession of the enemy, and there began a fierce fight which lasted until the following day, but they required the whole day of July 28 to make themselves masters of these positions. Toward Pozières a terrible hand-to-hand fight was begun and lasted from July 27 to July 28, when it was still undecided.

Throughout the whole night a fierce fight continued in the approaches of Delville Wood, where the enemy had already sacrificed two or three regiments, (8,000-12,000 men,) which were nearly annihilated, then the hand-to-hand fights slackened; the artillery duels were resumed until July 30. On that day, Sunday, the English took part in our movement across the Combles ravine, carrying on the struggle between Longueval and Guillemont. The battle was bloody, but won for our allies valuable gains to the east of the Trônes Wood and the Waterlot Farm.

Then the British troops set themselves to consolidate the ground they had conquered and to extend their front a little beyond Bazentin-the-Less.

To the north of the Somme the Monacu Farm, the east of which was held by French troops and which had been the object of violent counterattacks, was the goal of fierce assaults during the night of Aug. 2-3; the attack extended across the railway as far as Hem Wood on a front of 1,086 yards. The Germans were repulsed; they had suffered such heavy losses on this side since July 30 that it was necessary to relieve their units. Our organization at the mouth of the Combles ravine was also reinforced. On Aug. 7 we advanced against a line of trenches between Hem Wood and the

Somme and took them by storm. One hundred and twenty prisoners and a dozen machine guns were taken.

During the forenoon of Tuesday, Aug. 8, the Germans tried to regain the ground lost; two attacks were repulsed, and 100 more prisoners fell into our hands. We did not stop at this success: joining our efforts with those of our allies, who were advancing against Guillemont, we made progress toward the east from 139-Meter Hill to the north of Hardecourt and along the whole front as far as the Somme, winning a depth of 300 to 500 yards of trenches along a winding line of three and three-quarter miles. Night counterattacks to the north of Hem Wood were repulsed, though one trench was occupied by the enemy; it was retaken on Wednesday morning, Aug. 9. The Germans then began a bombardment of our positions with large-calibre shells.

To the south of the Somme we limited ourselves to checking the attempts of the enemy from Aug. 1 to Aug. 3 against our positions on the approaches of the Deniecourt hamlet near Estrées. On Aug. 5 we attempted minor attacks, which made gains for us in the same region. A few kilometers to the south, toward Lihons and Chaulnes, an artillery action was begun which seems to have been of extraordinary violence. Close to the railroad the Germans had penetrated our advanced lines between Lihons and the railroad; a bayonet charge drove them out.

The English meanwhile continued an effective bombardment of German positions. Guided by their airmen, they were able to make hits against batteries and munitions depots, notably in the valley of the Ancre, at Grandcourt, at Miraumont and, to the north of Pozières, at Courcellette. This fire reached a high degree of intensity between Pozières and Thiepval, where the enemy is powerfully organized. The German artillery, on its side, violently bombarded the region behind the English lines, notably Mametz Wood.

On both sides, there were attacks, often of great violence, especially near

Pozières, whose loss the Germans keenly felt. They extended as far as Delville Wood and Trones Wood, (not Trônes Wood, as reported.) During the night of Aug. 3-4, the Germans four times attacked Delville Wood and were continually repulsed. In the morning, between Pozières and Thiepval, enemy contingents, bent back by our bombardment, were cut down by machine guns.

On the following night, the British marked certain gains between Pozières and Bazentin. This success was continued during the night of Aug. 4-5, and even extended; the second German line to the north of Pozières was carried on a front of 2,000 yards, in spite of vigorous counterattacks. The struggle continued in the morning and definitely secured for the British troops the possession of a total front of 3,000 yards to a depth of from 400 to 600 yards. In spite of extremely vigorous artillery fire the Australians and their comrades of Old England succeeded in organizing the ground gained. On Aug. 6, the enemy returned furiously to the assault, making use of flaming liquids. A local success, due to this use of flaming

liquids, was immediately wiped out, and a further attempt was also repulsed.

The Germans once more took the offensive on Monday, Aug. 7, after bombarding the positions to the north and northeast of Pozières. At one time reaching the British trenches, they were driven out again. At sunrise, at 9 o'clock, at 4 in the afternoon, these attacks succeeded each other, somewhat feeble toward evening, without taking an inch of ground from our allies. On Aug. 9, to the northwest of Pozières, the Australian troops advanced on a front of 600 yards.

We have already recorded that our left wing took part in a movement against Guillemont in conjunction with the British. The village of Guillemont, situated at the junction of the roads coming from Longueval and Montauban and going to Combles, was reached by British troops on the northwest and southwest.

[Since the foregoing was written the Allies have slowly but steadily pushed forward, taking Maurepas, Guillemont, Ginchy, Flers, Martinpuich, Courcellette, Vermandovillers, Berny, practically surrounding Combles, cutting across the Peronne-Bapaume road, and taking a firmer grip on the whole Picardy front from Chaules in the south to Thiepval on the north.]

"We Have Captured the Ridge"

By David Lloyd George

British Secretary for War

[From an address in the House of Commons, Aug. 22, 1916]

I DO not want to give a military estimate of the situation, but I would invite the House to look at the state of things a few months ago and contrast that with the state of things at the present moment. Two months ago the fate of Verdun was in the balance. The fall of Verdun might not have had very important strategic results, but from the moral point of view it would have been a very serious blow to the cause of the Allies. Two months ago the Austrians appeared to be pressing into the plains of Italy. They were advancing, and they were making great

captures of men and guns in the field. The Russians at that time appeared to be held with ease by inferior forces. The Germans were worrying our line along the whole front with incessant attacks, some of them successful, and the new Russian levies and, to a very large extent, our own new armies, were untried. No one knew when put to the test how well they would do. What is the position now? Along the whole of the battle front, east and west, the initiative has been wrested from the enemy almost for the first time. There is only one possible exception, and that is Mesopotamia,

where very largely, owing to climatic reasons, our army for the moment is quiescent. Take the west, along our front and the French front, take the eastern front, where the Russians have won such conspicuous victories—take the notable victories won by the Italians—take the great victories in the Caucasus. The whole situation has completely changed.

The Recent Offensive

I have heard a good deal of criticism of our offensive, and some of the critics imagine that its only justification would be if we were to break through. Not in the least. The enemy had two alternatives. He might have said: "All right, march on, capture trench after trench, we will give you one after the other of these trenched villages, we might throw in a few French towns. We will give you not merely kilometer after kilometer, we might even give you departments, but we will not let go Verdun, and we will throw our forces on to the eastern front to prevent the break-up of Austria." He might, on the other hand, have said: "Oh, no; rather than let you break through here and drive us back, we will take guns and divisions from Verdun, and we will concentrate our troops in front of you rather than let you have this territory." He chose the latter. That suited us. It relieved the pressure on Verdun and prevented the enemy from withdrawing his forces to support the Austrians. I want those who are thinking of this offensive in terms of yards or kilometers to realize the full effect of this achievement.

One of two things would be a success. Breaking through would be a success, but forcing the enemy to bring his armies there to prevent our breaking through would be an equally great success. The latter we have accomplished. In addition, we have rescued a very considerable portion of French territory from the enemy's grip. But that is not the end of it. The enemy is still powerful, and no one pretends that he is yet at the end of his resources. At the present moment his armies are just as numerous as they ever were, his equipment is as formidable as it ever was. That is true

of the Germans alone, but it is not true of their allies, not in the least.

The British Contribution

And if it is not true of their allies, it is because we have been able to concentrate such great forces that we have held the Germanic power while the Russians were dealing with some of her allies. That has been our contribution, a great contribution and a costly contribution. Not as costly as the enemy makes it out to be. His accounts of our losses have been grossly, ludicrously exaggerated. At the present moment we are pressing him over territory the value of which must be reckoned not by the number of yards, but rather by the importance of the positions we are capturing. Any man who looks at the contour of the map of this particular battlefield will see what it means, and our losses, although deplorable, as all losses must be, are relatively very low, while the enemy, forced to counterattack over ground which is exposed to our artillery, suffers heavily.

We are fighting a very great military power, with gigantic resources and with an enormous population to draw upon. But no one realizes better than the foe what a change has come over the spirit of the scene. He knows for the first time that his forces are being held, that he is now on the defensive, and that makes a great difference in the whole character of the campaign henceforth. But there are many valleys to cross, there are many ridges to storm, before we see the final victory. We shall need more men, more munitions, more guns, and more equipment, and we shall need all the courage and the endurance of our race in every part of the world in order to convert the work which has been begun, more especially during the last two years, into a victory which will be really a final and complete victory.

Pressing the Enemy Back

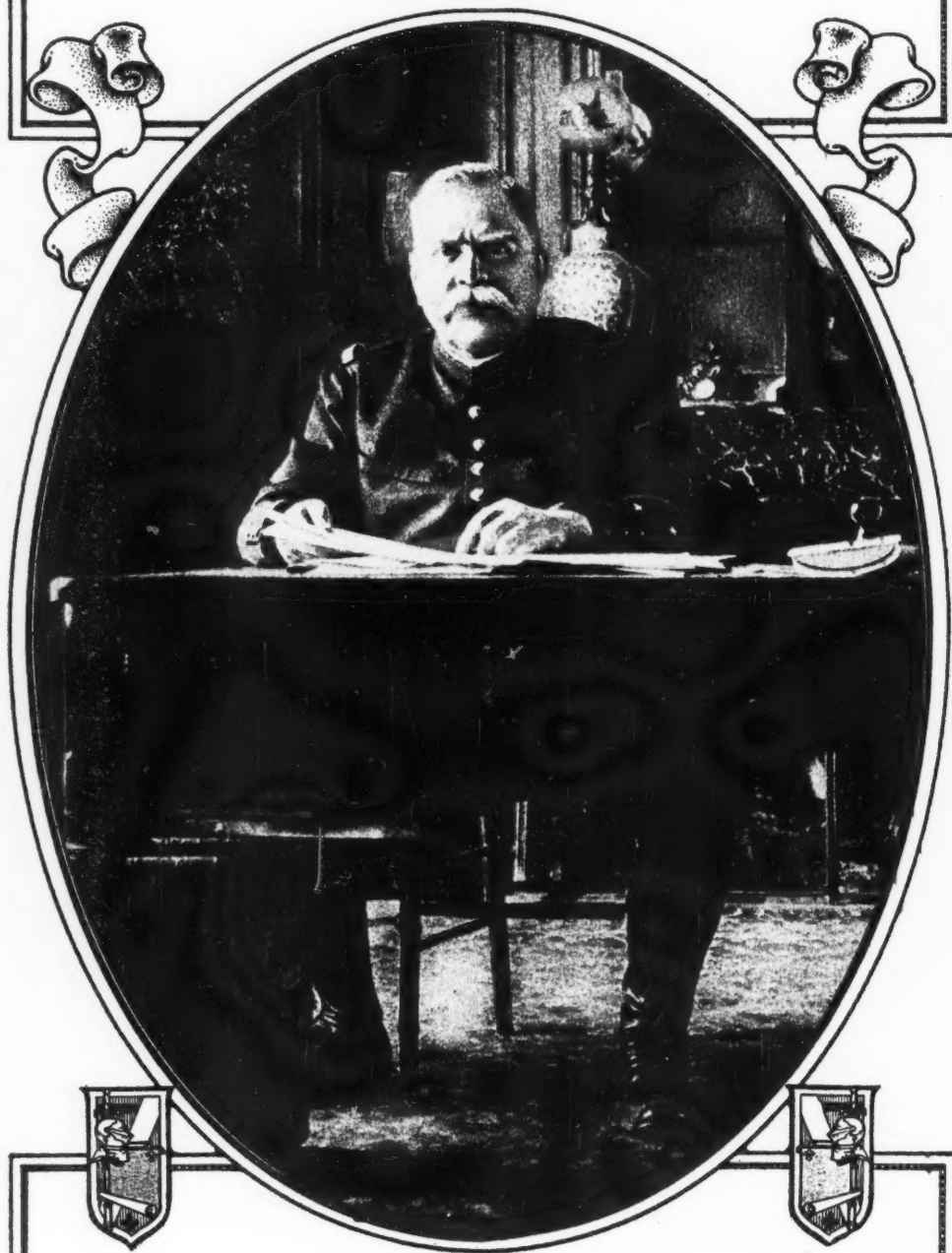
We are pressing the enemy back. Sir Douglas Haig's report tonight shows how we are gradually pressing him back here and there over ground every meter of which is important at the present moment because of its dominating position in that particular country. It does

GERMANY'S HIGHEST GENERALS



Latest Portrait of General von Hindenburg and His Chief of the
General Staff, General von Ludendorff.
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL JOSEPH JOFFRE



Commander of all the Armies of the French Republic at Work in His Headquarters in the War Office at Paris.

not seem to be a very big achievement, but it is all in one direction. We have secured the ascendancy, instead of being pushed back, as we were before Verdun, yard by yard, until the Germans got nearer and nearer to the fortress itself. What is happening now? We are pushing the enemy on the Somme, and the French are doing the same. Near Verdun, instead of being driven back gradually day by day and week by week, the French are regaining ground that they had previously lost.

All that is a change, but in order to convert that into a real victory, a victory which will enable us to impose the only terms that will make it worth our while for having entered into this war, it is necessary that we should get every possible support that this country or the dominions can give us. It is upon that support and upon the equipment of Russia, with heavy guns and heavy ammunition, that victory depends. During the whole of these fateful months the enemy knows perfectly well that if Russia had been equipped with heavier artillery and ammunition her progress would have been much more rapid than it has been. It is upon considerations of that kind, which involve greater sacrifices, still greater drafts upon our tenacity and courage, that the one great question whether we shall see the end of this war in the coming year depends.

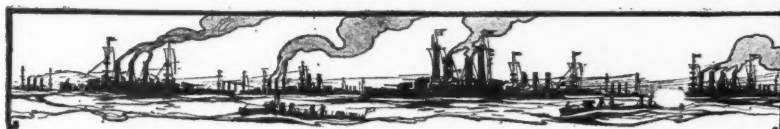
Germany's Chance Gone

We have captured the ridge; we can see, at any rate, the course of the campaign. I think in the dim distance we can see the end. The enemy has been driven off the dominant position which he held at the beginning of the campaign, and that in itself is a great achievement. He has lost his tide. He had France not fully prepared, and yet the best prepared of all; the most finely organized country in the alliance was

still, in a sense, unprepared. Russia, also, was unprepared, and Britain with practically no army in the Continental sense. We had an army for policing the empire, but we had no army in the sense of an army for a great Continental campaign. I am the last man to disparage the work which our first expeditionary force rendered. I have no doubt when the history of the whole war comes to be written it will be said that the action of that gallant little force saved the situation.

Now France is equipped, and Russia is rapidly becoming equipped. The Italian equipment is getting along in a way which has amazed even her best friends. We have now in the field one of the greatest armies any empire could command. Germany has missed her chance and she knows it.

Without in the least pretending to predict times and seasons, it would be a mistake for us to anticipate an early victory; that would only produce disappointment; I have never in the least underrated the greatness of our task; I never cried out victory when, as a matter of fact, we were sustaining defeat, as I have always thought it better to tell the people frankly and fairly exactly what was happening, because the people of this country are not the kind of people to be terrified by any facts, and I knew that their exertions would be in proportion to the difficulty of their enterprise. Having always taken that view, and now surveying the whole situation in the light of existing facts and upon the advice of those who are far more competent to express an opinion than I am, I have no hesitation in saying that all this country and the Allies have to do is to march together steadily, work together loyally, as they have done in the past, and then victory, assured victory, will rest in their hands.



A Survey of the Russian Battle Front

By Charles Johnston

WE have been forgetting the north end of the Russian battle line in watching the absorbing drama of the south.

But at the north end also there has been vital fighting. Kuropatkin, who was far greater on the defensive than in attack—and of whom it was said that, at the battle of Mukden, in its time the greatest battle of history, he had ten matured plans for withdrawal but not one for an advance—has gone south to his beloved Turkestan; Ruzsky, one of the hardest hitters in the Russian Army, who shared with Brusiloff the honors of the first great aggressive in Galicia, has taken Kuropatkin's place, or, more truly, has returned to his own post which Kuropatkin was holding for him; and, with the return of the "fighting General," the northern Russian line has moved steadily forward. Not on the grand scale of Galicia and Bukowina, it is true, but there are good reasons for that; first, although Russia has an apparently inexhaustible host of young, well-trained soldiers, and literally mountains of shells, which are pouring in daily from England, from Japan, from Russia's own new munition works in the iron regions of the south and east, and also from America, yet of necessity the enormous calls made both on men and munitions by Brusiloff's vast offensive and now by the new invasion of Bulgaria through the Dobrudja, have left Ruzsky in the north with comparatively limited means. Let us see what he has been able to accomplish with them.

The Dwina Front

Riga, a city of 600,000 population, (as large as Baltimore or Pittsburgh,) and, after Odessa, the greatest port in the empire, was the first goal of Hindenburg's great drive; Dwinsk, with 100,000 inhabitants, was the second. The distance between is about 120 miles, or, along the curved line of the Dwina and

the trenches, more than 150. All along this line, (which is about equal to the line on the western front from Ostend to Rheims,) Ruzsky has been attacking, fighting against lines organized exactly like those we are familiar with in the descriptions of the fighting on the Somme. And the result of this fighting is that, along the greater part of the line, the Russians have captured the German first-line trenches and are firmly installed on the western side of the Dwina.

While the trenches themselves were splendidly organized with reinforced concrete, forests of barbed wire, subterranean caves, deep connecting trenches, the whole well defended by multitudes of machine guns, bomb throwers, rapid-fire cannon, yet, according to Russian reports, the German army defending them was worn, nervous, inadequately fed and clothed, and the trenches were undermanned. But there was no lack at all of munitions, nor of fierce determination to hold the trenches. In general, when Ruzsky's men attacked, after a tremendously heavy artillery preparation, with high explosive shells of the largest calibre, they found that the German defenders had, during the bombardment, practically given up the first-line trenches; only small groups were left, in the deepest burrows, at the telephone stations from which wires, deeply buried in the earth, maintained connections with the second lines. German prisoners who had remained at these first-line telephone stations said that, so tremendous was the Russian bombardment, nothing could stand against it; barbed wire entanglements were mowed down like reeds, concrete trenches were first smashed up into great fragments, as old-fashioned housewives used to pound up their sugar loaves, and then the chunks of concrete were literally pounded into dust.

When the Russian foot soldiers charged with the bayonet, over the stupendous

ruins their own guns had created, the telephonists gave the signal, and the German troops came rushing forward from the second line, in which, during the bombardment, they had taken refuge; fierce hand-to-hand fighting with the bayonet, with gun butts, with grenades began, but within five or six hours the Russians were masters of the first-line trenches. But, when they ran on to the trenches of the second line the tables were turned against them; finding it impossible to take them without prolonged artillery preparation, they contented themselves with retiring to the first-line trenches and consolidating these; they are now working their heavy guns forward to attack the next line, exactly after the fashion of the Somme battle.

While these fights were going on, along a line of about 150 miles, the clouds were full of German albatrosses and Russian aeroplanes, scouting, pursuing each other, taking photographs of each other's position. Again and again the albatrosses have bombed Riga and Dwinsk, while Russian airmen have bombed the German trenches, depots, and field railroads. The net result of all this is that the Russians are now firmly settled on the west side of the Dwina and are preparing to attack the German second line, the German first line being already in their hands.

Dwinsk to the Pripet

The next sector of the eastern front, from Dwinsk to the Pripet River, (a tributary of the Dnieper, which runs east and south into the Black Sea at Kherson, east of Odessa,) a distance of about 300 miles almost due north and south, a distance equal to a direct line from Ostend on the Strait of Dover to Strassburg, the great German intrenched camp in Alsace. On the German side this sector is commanded by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, a veteran, 70 years old, to whom is accredited the capture of Warsaw. On the Russian side, General Evert commands, a robust fighter who won distinction by blocking the first Austrian thrust north from Lemberg against Lublin and Kholm, while Ruzsky and Brusiloff cut at and captured Lemberg and Halicz from the east. The most

vital point on this long line which, for the most part, runs through enormous forests of pine, wet and marshy under foot, is the junction at Baranovici, an important station on the direct railroad from Warsaw through Brest-Litovsk to Moscow. In this region there has been severe fighting, which seems to be approaching a decision favorable to the Russians.

The Pripet to Rumania

From the Pripet southward, as far as the Rumanian frontier, the Russian line is under the general command of Brusiloff, and this is, of course, the sector in which the really decisive and dramatic struggle is taking place.

We may make the purpose of this fighting clear by naming four cities, two of them, Kovel and Vladimir-Volhynski, in Russian territory now held by German armies; two, Lemberg and Halicz, in Austrian Galicia. The German commands have undergone several recent changes, but it seems that Generals Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, and Bothmer, under the nominal direction of the Austrian Archduke Charles Francis, the heir to the throne of the Dual Monarchy, are in command of the sectors from north to south. General von Pflanzer-Ballin, who commanded the extreme southern sector, has just retired owing to ill-health.

When Brusiloff tore the first great breach in the Teutonic defenses at Lutsk and Dubno, his next objective was Kovel, with Vladimir-Volhynski somewhat to the south; there were strong Teuton defenses between, first along the Styr, then along the Stokhod, and against these a section of Brusiloff's forces, commanded by General Kaledin, who has just been made a full General for his distinguished services, was immediately directed, but for the last month or six weeks Kaledin has made almost no headway, though he has taken a good many prisoners. Here, then, is the first point at which Brusiloff is now being held up.

Last month saw the able and resourceful Teuton commander, General Count von Bothmer, in a very dangerous position. Three of Brusiloff's Generals were

hemming him in: Sakharoff had outflanked him on the north by the capture of Brody and an at first rapid advance along the Brody railroad toward Lemberg. Stcherbatchoff was pressing his whole line hard from a base near Tarnopol. The volatile Letchitski, to the south, had far outflanked him by taking successively Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, Kolomea and Stanislawoff, and getting behind him along the Dniester River—the midrib of Galicia. Bothmer, thus very seriously threatened, managed to extricate himself—but with the loss of a considerable portion of his army. He is said to have lost 50,000 prisoners and probably as many killed and wounded. And he probably had not more than 300,000 men all told when the Russian drive began, on June 4, while the intervening months brought continuous losses. It is difficult to believe that Bothmer has more than a third, or at most a half, of his original force. With these he has withdrawn to Halicz, and is there putting up a very stiff fight; but Letchitski, who has won for himself very ample elbow room south and west of Halicz, is once more working up behind Bothmer's position, and the fate of Halicz is, apparently, only a matter of time.

On Familiar Ground

It should be kept in mind that General Brusiloff knows, with close personal knowledge, the whole region in which the four armies under him are fighting. When the war broke out, he had been stationed for several months at Vinnitsa, in Russian Podolia, on the railroad a short distance to the east of Tarnopol. Earlier he was stationed at Lublin, and several times conducted manoeuvres about Lublin and Kholm. He fought westward and eastward through Galicia on the Tarnopol-Halicz-Baligrad line. He won at Halicz one of the earliest Entente victories, just before the Battle of the Marne. So he is now playing the great game on a very familiar chess-board.

But we should not forget the ability of the Teuton Generals opposing Sakharoff and Kaledin. We should add to those

already named the Austrian General Koevess, a really able soldier, especially skilled in mountain warfare, who was withdrawn from Gorizia to meet the Russian threat at the Carpathians—with disastrous results for the Austrian forces about Gorizia. Largely to him, it would seem, has fallen the task of holding the Carpathian passes in Galicia and Bukowina against the flying wings of General Letchitski's army, but his position is suddenly and markedly weakened by Rumania's entry into the war, which now introduces a new threat against these passes, this time from the Hungarian side.

Should Rumania make to the north progress as extensive as she has made to the west through the Transylvanian Carpathians, then General Koevess will shortly find himself outflanked and forced to withdraw his forces into the interior of Hungary, as the Austrian armies in Transylvania have been withdrawn. Indeed, the whole face of the problem, from the Pripet River southward, has been suddenly altered, and altered in a sense very favorable to Russia. This will be clear, if we remember that Orsova, the most westerly point won so far by the Rumanian armies, is about 100 miles west of Lemberg, and still further west of Halicz; and that the upward push of the Rumanian armies, on anything like the level of Orsova, would mean the outflanking of every Teuton position which is now to the east of our old friend, Przemyśl; this would give Russia possession of full two-thirds of Galicia, and Russia has already a far firmer hold on Southern Galicia than she had at any time in 1914. The complete conquest of the Bukowina has effected that, and Rumania's declaration has confirmed it.

Rumania's move, indeed, puts a new aspect on the whole problem of the Russian line. It makes, as we have seen, the defense of Halicz by the Teuton powers more precarious; and Halicz is the key to Lemberg. Indeed, it was Brusiloff's Halicz victory, in the beginning of September, 1914, which completed the rout of the Austrian forces holding Lemberg. In the same way the loss of Lemberg would be a serious danger to the Teuton

possession of Vladimir-Volhynski and Kovel, and might easily hurry their evacuation.

Consolidation of Bukowina

So we come to the southern end of the immensely long Russian line in Bukowina, where it now joins the northern end of the Rumanian battle front. The Russians are still fighting in the hill country, among the Carpathian beech woods, which give Bukowina its name, but the whole of the level country along the Pruth and Southern Sereth and Moldava, is firmly in their hands; is already "consolidated" along Russian

lines. The country about Czernowitz is singularly picturesque and attractive, and the little metropolis itself, which in normal times has about 95,000 inhabitants, has decided charm. The Pruth, on which it stands, winds picturesquely through rich corn fields and meadows, between its osier-fringed banks; and, within the city, well built houses and gold domed churches are mirrored in its quiet waters. The city itself is full of gardens, rich in trees, so that it nestles amid verdure. Russians say it looks like Kieff—on a much smaller scale—and Kieff is the most picturesque town in the Russian Empire.

Balkan Developments

By a Staff Contributor

[See other Balkan articles, pages 57-84; also military events, pages 41-46]

THE problem of what we may, perhaps, begin to call the Battle of the Balkans is intensely interesting, and not a little perplexing. To begin with, it is quite clear that we are very far from having all the facts. For example, we have practically no knowledge of how many of the Teuton-Turkish troops are engaged, under Field Marshal von Mackensen, or on his initiative, in the attempted invasion of Dobrudja; compare with this vagueness the precise knowledge of the western front, where, the French authorities tell us, Germany has 122 divisions, or 2,240,000 men. When Turtukai was taken, one party called it a great fortress; the other said it was a mere earthwork. The Bulgarians said they had taken 20,000 Rumanian prisoners; the Rumanians retorted that they had not that many men on that sector. If this be anywhere near the truth, how many Bulgars, Turks, and, perhaps, Teutons are these Rumanians and their Russian allies holding back on the Silistria-Varna line? All this is still obscure, and will only be made clear as the fight progresses.

Again, there are some 350 miles of the

great River Danube, across which Bulgarians and Rumanians—or at least their territories—face each other; why has no fighting been reported from anywhere on this long, easy line?—nothing beyond a few gunshots fired across the river, at widely distant points like "Tekia, Widin, Lomorjechovo, and Ivichton," to quote a recent dispatch. We need much more information here also. The Iron Gates of the Danube, where the river cuts through the extension of the Carpathians, mark a region very like the Highlands of the Hudson; the "Iron Gates" themselves were ridges below high water, very like Hell Gate, and now, like that once perilous passage, blasted out and cleared. From this point, not far below Orsova on the Rumanian-Hungarian frontier, down to the Dobrudja, (whose high plateau forces the Danube northward out of its direct course,) the great river flows between low banks, among marshes. Armies can easily cross it; have repeatedly crossed it ever since Trajan's day; twice, for example, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78; twice during the invasions of Serbia in the present war. Why has no army crossed it now?

We must, of course, take the Dobrudja

fighting in its relation to the Rumanian invasion of Transylvania, and also in connection with the Saloniki offensive of the Entente Allies. First, why did the bulk of the Rumanian armies go west, to Hungarian Transylvania, instead of simply crossing the Danube southward and attacking Sofia, not more than seventy or eighty miles from the great river? The reason seems to be political; in Transylvania, (which is a part of Hungary,) and in the Bukowina, (the "Beech-land" which is a Crown land of Austria,) there are some 4,000,000 Rumanians, speaking the same tongue as the people of Bucharest and Jassy; and their union with the present Rumanian Kingdom is as much a part of Rumanian national policy as, for Italy, is the winning of Trent and Trieste. Rumania, knowing Austria's weakness there, knowing that practically all the native Hungarian troops were employed elsewhere, determined at once to seize the "unredeemed" Rumanian territory, leaving the Bulgarian problem to be handled later—perhaps by other than Rumanian forces.

For there are two wholly contrasted reasons which dictate the sending of Russian troops into Bulgaria. The first, the obvious reason is, to defeat the government of the Coburg Ferdinand, as an enemy of the Entente Powers. The second, and the more vital reason, perhaps, is to meet half way the pro-Russian, anti-Teuton movement among the Bulgarians themselves; evidences of which we may see in the fact that Radko Dimitrieff, the ablest Bulgar soldier of the first Balkan war, whose victories over the Turks at Lule Burgas and Kirk Killisse astonished all Europe and decided the war, has been fighting, since 1914, as a Russian officer in the Russian Army; in the fact that General Savoff, the fine organizer, who made the modern Bulgarian Army, was imprisoned at the outbreak of the present war, because he refused to fight for the Coburg Ferdinand against Russia's allies; in the fact that more than a thousand skilled Bulgar officers are even now in Russia, because they wholly disapprove the Coburger's pro-Teuton policy; in the fact

that Bulgar regiments have again and again mutinied, as a protest against the same policy.

If Rumanian forces invaded Bulgaria, they would meet with violent animosity, because of old rivalries, but far more because it was Rumania's intervention that caused Bulgaria's downfall in the "four weeks' war" in the Summer of 1913; because Rumania then took from Bulgaria the Silistria region, to the south of Dobrudja, nearly 3,000 miles in area. It is precisely there that the Teuton-Bulgar-Turks have now struck; doubtless in pursuance of a promise given by Kaiser Wilhelm that if the Coburger joined the Teutons they would win back for him every inch of territory of which Bulgaria was "robbed" by the Bucharest Treaty of August, 1913. A Rumanian invasion across the Danube, therefore, would fire intense animosities; Russian intervention will find the Bulgarians half friends; for Bulgarians remember that their land is strewn with the graves of Russian soldiers who died to liberate Bulgaria, even though Russian politics did much to estrange what is nevertheless a very real gratitude.

It would seem, then, that the Entente Powers, and especially Russia, are not without hope that Bulgaria (though not the Coburger's party) may yet swing around and at the eleventh hour join the Entente, which now grows daily stronger. Perhaps we have here, in these purely political considerations—or, rather, race considerations—the key of the problem we began by stating: Why there has been no real fighting along the 300-mile Ruman-Bulgar frontier on the Danube.

Political considerations obviously enter into the direction of the Russian invasion through the Dobrudja. This move would seem to be directed, not really against Bulgaria, but rather against Turkey; or, to name the real goal, against Constantinople. It seems fairly certain that England has overcome her long hostility to the presence of Russia there; Russia's defeat of the projected invasion of India by her Armenian-Persian campaign under Generals Yudenitch and Baratoff did much to disarm English questionings. And it has been pretty



openly declared—notably by the well-known Russian statesman, Professor Milyukoff—that an explicit agreement exists, assigning Stamboul to Russia in the event of Entente triumph. But possession is nine points of the law; therefore Russia is very naturally desirous of finding herself in actual possession of Constantine's city when the great day comes. And the way thither leads through the Dobrudja and Varna. Russian armies were already within sight of Stamboul in January, 1878, when Disraeli called a halt; but Disraeli is no more:

and his Russophobe policy has followed him.

This would be a reasonable explanation of both the Rumanian movement westward (instead of southward, across the Danube) and of the defense of the Dobrudja by Russian (not by Rumanian) forces. There remain certain things to be accounted for; for instance, the slowness of Russia's advance, which allowed Mackensen's forces to capture Turtukai, Silistria, and a group of fishing villages on the Black Sea. The reason, doubtless, is the extreme difficulty of transporting

the big guns which, to a large degree through the initiative of Mackensen himself, at the Dunajets, have become an integral part of field warfare. There are no north-and-south railroads through the Dobrudja, and very few roads up and down that high, very arid plateau; there is only the Bucharest-Constanza (Kustendji) railroad running east and west, across the fine Danube bridge, one of the largest in Europe, completed, with French Creusot material, by the late King Carol in 1895. So it is exceedingly difficult for Russia to bring her big guns to bear, and, till they are under way, her progress must lag.

On the Bulgarian side, on the contrary, there is a railroad from Varna to Dobric; another from the Varna-Sofia railroad to Rustchuk, thus running along the back of Mackensen's positions; while, from Rustchuk eastward along the Danube, on its south bank, there is a good highway, running through Turtukai to Silistria, evidently used in the movement which captured these two posts. The Turks, it may be noted, will fight very willingly to take Dobrudja, which belonged to them as recently as 1877, and which still has a quarter of a million Turk inhabitants. But one doubts that Turkey can have many available troops.

This would seem to go some distance toward clearing up the northern side of the Balkan battle. We come now to the southern side; to the fighting which radiates from Saloniki, at a distance of some 75 miles from that city, and on a front of some 150 miles. It seems difficult to believe that there are more than 200,000 troops to the north of the fighting line, including Bulgarians, as the main element, with some Germans and Austrians, and, perhaps, some Turks. The problem of this relatively small force, of five or six army corps, at most, is a very serious one. It can draw supplies of munitions along the railroad which traverses the Morava and Vardar Valleys from the Danube and Germany; but their sideways distribution, in mountainous country, is not easy. This relatively small force, then, has two tasks—to defend the valley of the Vardar, up which an allied advance will push toward Nish, seeking

to cut the railroad from German bases to Sofia, and to defend the Struma Valley, up which English and Italian troops are already making a thrust which will be aimed at Sofia itself, the capital and the heart of Bulgaria. It was Rumania's thrust at Sofia, in July, 1913, which brought Bulgaria to her knees and ended the second Balkan war. The Italo-British drive may have the same result, in the next few months, while the Franco-Serbian drive up the Vardar accomplishes two things—liberates devastated Serbia and cuts off Teuton aid from Bulgaria.

If the present Rumanian action about Orsova and the Iron Gates of the Danube, which has already made a good deal of headway, continues very successful, we may, very probably, see a Rumanian thrust southward from Orsova, largely or even wholly on Serbian territory, directed toward Nish, and intended not so much to defeat Bulgar troops as to cut off Bulgaria's Teuton allies, therefore not restrained by the political considerations which, we have conjectured, keep back Rumanian invasion of Bulgaria from the north.

It is always perilous to prophesy, yet it is interesting to speculate on the possible outcome of the Balkan battle. On the one hand it is difficult to see where the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk allies are to get any considerable reserves, while, on the other, there must be unlimited Russian forces available for the Dobrudja drive, large Italian forces ready to strengthen the move up the Struma, with at least considerable French and British contingents ready to support Sarraill. And at neither the northern nor the southern front have the Teuton-Bulgar-Turk forces made any great headway; in the south, indeed, they seem to be either held stationary or losing ground. Therefore, if we take the question of coming reserves into account, as we must, it is evident that the odds against Bulgaria and her allies are exceedingly heavy, while the Generals opposed to them, men like Sarraill and Mahon, will not make many mistakes.

We have said nothing of Greece, because the position of Greece has not been finally decided.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Map of Balkan Front, Page 39]

THE principal event of the period which forms the subject of this review—up to the middle of September—was the intervention of Rumania on the side of the Allies. Rumania's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, with a statement of the reasons for her action, came on Aug. 28. Germany promptly declared war on Rumania; Bulgaria and Turkey followed suit a few days later.

Rumania's entrance into the war has, besides its military importance, an economic significance. Economically Rumania is the loser. Through her commercial agreement with the Central Powers she had garnered in enormous profits. Naturally the Central Powers on their part, cut off as they are from the outside world by the British blockade, had gained advantages from the possibility of receiving goods from Rumania—advantages which are not to be underestimated. However, the abundance of this year's German harvest more than counterbalances the stopping of the Rumanian source.

The military significance of Rumania's action lies primarily in the intention of the Allies to extend still further the general offensive on all theatres of war. The Rumanian offensive has two possibilities:

1. The forcing of the Transylvanian Alps, which form the continuation of the Carpathians, and the invasion of Hungary either from the southeast or south.

2. An invasion of Bulgaria from the north, in conjunction with the Russian forces for whom the Rumanian border was opened with the declaration of war.

For both cases the condition and the strength of the Rumanian Army constitute the decisive factor. The numerical strength of that army is hardly under-

rated when estimated at 400,000 men. As for its equipment, the infantry is armed with Mannlicher rifles dating from 1893, 6.5 millimeter calibre; the artillery with Krupp guns, model 1908, 7.5 centimeter calibre, and 12-centimeter howitzers. The machine guns are constructed after the Maxim type.

On the opposing side considerable Turkish forces are at hand for the new campaign. Since the conclusion of the Dardanelles enterprise of the Allies the Turkish main forces which had been massed partly at Constantinople and partly in the new big military camp at Tehatalja, west-northwest of the capital, have not been heard from. It was said that they were being kept in readiness for the event of an allied attempt to break through from Saloniki in order to cut the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey, established by the Serbian campaign. Such, too, would be the ultimate aim of a Bulgarian invasion by the Russians and Rumanians. The realization of this aim, however, would for Turkey be the gravest blow, and the Turks may be expected to exert their entire available strength to avert it.

The Rumanian Attack

The Rumanians opened attack even before the declaration of war by proceeding against Rotenturm Pass, Toerzburg Pass, and Toemoes Pass, in the Transylvanian Alps. At the same time a Russo-Rumanian army attacked the front of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Heir Apparent, Karl Franz Josef, in the Southeastern Carpathians, at Toelgyes Pass and Bekas Pass. The result was the withdrawal of the forces of the Central Powers, in accordance with the general basic idea of the whole war—to rest on the defensive at certain points and to

take the offensive on other fronts designated therefor.

The Rumanians advanced at three points: Far to the west, near the "Iron Gate," where the Czerna empties into the Danube, Orsova was occupied. In the centre they pushed through the Transylvanian Alps from the south in the direction of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. The open Hungarian city of Kronstadt (Brasso) fell into their hands. They advanced as far as the Gyorgyo Mountains north of the town. Kronstadt is of military importance as an intersection, being the converging point of several lines leading across the mountains into Rumania. The city had, therefore, been fortified in former times, but is today completely open.

Thirdly, there was the Rumanian advance from the east, across the wooded Carpathians against the Ersik heights, the Rumanians being aided here by Russian forces.

The withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian lines to previously selected positions was based upon the military advisability of shortening the front. A front running along the whole frontier, from Dorna Watra before the Borgo Pass of the wooded Carpathians to Orsova, at the "Iron Gate," would have been 600 kilometers long. The defense of all frontier passes in south and east was hardly possible; to hold the entire 600-kilometer front would have presented enormous numerical difficulties. The present plan of the Austro-Hungarian high command is to oppose a further advance of the enemy on the line that has been reduced to less than half its original length.

The Austro-Hungarian troops also have taken up new positions in the Csik Mountains, withdrawing to the heights west of the Csik Szerada.

The Teutonic Offensive

On Sept. 2 the Central Powers and their allies opened the offensive against Rumania from the south. Bulgarian, German, and Turkish troops crossed the Dobrudja frontier and entered Rumania. The Southern Dobrudja forms the territory which Bulgaria had to cede to Rumania at the peace of Bucharest, Aug. 10, 1913, after the second Balkan war—

although Rumanian troops had had no actual part in that conflict.

The border was crossed by three columns—in the east, in the centre, and in the west.

1. The western column of invasion advanced against the Danube bridgehead Turtukan. German troops took a part in this advance. The bridgehead was constructed to defend the crossing of the Danube to Oltenita, on the left bank. From Oltenita a railway runs directly to Bucharest. The distance between Oltenita and the Rumanian capital is sixty kilometers as the crow flies.

2. The advance of the central column was directed against the fortress of Silistria. This stronghold, too, was taken.

3. The advance of the easternmost column was aimed primarily against the fortress of Dobritsch, (Hadshi-Oglu-Basadshik.)

On the left wing and in the centre the Bulgarian troops are strengthened by Germans, on the right by Turks. Russian forces, on the other hand, are aiding the Rumanian right flank.

On Sept. 3 Dobritsch fell. Three days later the Danube bridgehead Turtukan had fallen, and on Sept. 9 the fortress of Silistria was stormed. On Sept. 7 the Rumanian Black Sea ports of Baltchik, Kowarra, and Kali-Akra were occupied.

Turtukan is to be regarded as an advanced position of the Rumanian capital and principal fortress, Bucharest. It is at this point that the great Moltke considered that the Danube could best be crossed.

With the occupation of Turtukan and Silistria, the crossing of the Danube at two important points of the Dobrudja is within reach of the attackers' guns. Oltenita, on the northern bank of the river opposite Turtukan, already is under bombardment. And from Oltenita a railway leads directly to Bucharest. The Rumanians only have left the second Danube bridgehead, Czernavoda, east of Silistria. This bridgehead is connected by rail with the principal Rumanian port, Constanza, on the Black Sea.

The entire land defense of Rumania is organized after the so-called central system. Bucharest is the principal fortress,



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT IN GALICIA AND VOLHYNIA: DOUBLE LINE MARKS RUSSIAN POSITION BEFORE THE PRESENT DRIVE, AND DOTTED LINE THAT ON SEPT. 15

the pulse of that system; and, as its capital, it is the heart of the kingdom. The fortress, one of the strongest in the world, is the work of General Birmont, the famous Belgian fortress builder who also constructed Liège, Namur, and Ant-

werp. The present war, however, has considerably reduced the value of fortresses.

The Russo-Rumanian troops have begun to retreat northward, and thus have opened for the attackers the cross-

ing of the Danube. At this writing comes an official statement from the Berlin War Office reporting Field Marshal von Mackensen's right on the line from Rasova across the Southern Dobrudja through Cobadin to Tuzla, a line about twelve miles from the Czernawoda-Constanza stretch protected by the historic rampart, Trajan's Wall.

The development up to date of the offensive by the combined Bulgarian, German, and Turkish forces under the chief command of Field Marshal von Mackensen against Rumania from the south already has had its effects upon the military situation on the northern front. The Rumanian advance in Transylvania, after first slackening, has now come to a standstill at Seps-Szent-Gyorgy, slightly to the north of Kronstadt. The shortening of the Austro-Hungarian line has been carried into effect.

The military expert of The London Times already has asserted that Rumania must be "saved." The rescue, he emphasizes, must be effected upon the main theatres of war, for a rambling about in the whole world would be folly for the Allies. Rumania will remain an incidental theatre of war, even though the campaign in that country is in close military connection with the great Russian offensive.

Russian Offensive Fails

The "grand offensive" of the Russians has meanwhile resolved itself to two operations on separate fronts.

When on June 5, in accordance with the allied military conference in Paris, the great general offensive began on the eastern front, ushering in the united attack on all main theatres of war, the task mapped out for the Russians was the "rolling up" of the entire Teuton front through a break in its southern line, from Baronovitchi, north of the Pripet Swamps, down to the Rumanian border of the Bukowina. This general strategic idea of the Russian drive was analogous to that of the Anglo-French offensive on the western front, which also was aimed at the "rolling up" of the entire German front.

But the Russians have progressed

neither from the lower Stokhod north of the Sarny-Kovel railway, nor against this line from the south, from the Lutsk region. The new Russian attacks on the lower Stokhod thus far can be regarded only as demonstrations. Nor has the advance from Brody in a westerly direction even begun.

Thus, all that is left at present of the "grand offensive" in the east is the fighting in the region between the Zlota Lipa and the Dniester and the advance across the Carpathians. The battles on these two theatres of war are extremely violent and in themselves of great strategic importance, but they are in no inner military connection whatsoever with the task originally set to the "grand offensive."

The battles in the Carpathians have completely lost their original tendency. They gravitate toward the Northern Rumanian front, which stretches from the wooded Carpathians down to the "Iron Gate." The result of the Carpathian battles, too, is influenced by the course of the campaign in Rumania.

Thus we have left of the "grand offensive" really only the developments between the Dniester and the Zlota Lipa. These are described by Russian military experts as a "Russian general attack." The general attack is aimed at Lemberg from the south. After crossing the River Koropiec and occupying positions in the terrain of that river, the Zlota Lipa and the Khowanka, the Russians reached Podhajze and occupied Maryampol, on the Dniester. By this operation the Russian left wing (army group of General Letchitsky) had effected a junction with the centre (army group of General Schterbatscheff) on the comparatively short front Stanislaw-Maryampol.

From this line the advance on Lemberg was continued. It was aimed primarily against Halicz, the important railhead of the communication with Lemberg.

On Sept. 6 the Russians had won some ground in the direction of Halicz. In the battle of Sept. 7 and 8, between the Zlota Lipa and Dniester, they attempted to seize Halicz by means of swift successive mass attacks against Buraztyn, (about seventeen kilometers northwest of

Halicz, not far from the railway to Lemberg.)

Had the Russians succeeded in breaking through there they would have gained, with the possession of the city, the control of the railway as well. The attempt was frustrated "by a cleverly mapped out and as cleverly executed plan of defense on the part of General Count von Bothmer," in the words of the official German War Office statement. In the same report the highest praise was expressed for the Turks' fighting on Count Bothmer's front.

Since then the Russian advance against Lemberg has been—temporarily, at least—discontinued.

Field Marshal General von Hindenburg has been called from the east front to become Chief of the German General Staff of the Army in the Field, succeeding General von Falkenhayn.

Simultaneously came the appointment of General Ludendorff, Hindenburg's former Chief of Staff, as Quartermaster General. This post once before received a significance quite out of proportion with its usual functions. In peace time, from 1881 until 1888, a Quartermaster General was the "right-hand man" of Field Marshal Count Moltke, then Chief of the General Staff of the Army, and was in the absence of the latter Acting Chief of the General Staff. General Ludendorff will be Hindenburg's right hand.

The fact that these two men have been simultaneously taken from the immediate command on the front and intrusted with the chief direction of the whole war, as far as the German arms and operations are concerned, indicates the seriousness of the entire war situation.

The new army chief, after personally inspecting the military situation in the west, has effected a regrouping of that front. The front as a whole has been divided into three main sections, commanded, respectively, by Field Marshal General Duke Albrecht von Württemberg, Field Marshal General Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, and the German Crown Prince. The regrouping is analogous to the changes made on the eastern front.

Fighting on the Somme

The break which was to usher in the "rolling up" process on the western front was to be effected on the line Peronne-Combles-Bapaume. The storming columns of the Allies have in the course of the period under discussion regained their unity of action in the various sectors of the 45-kilometer front extending from north of Thiepval down to Vermandovillers. The German first-line positions were battered to pieces, the second lines were stormed, and even sections of the third-line system were conquered.

The British are operating north of the Somme; in the centre, at the point of their junction, French and British co-operate, and the allied right wing, south of the Somme, is held by the French.

After careful artillery preparation the Allies are attacking alternately on the left, in the centre, and on the right. Thus, on Sept. 2 the centre advanced to the line Ginchy-Guillemont-Combles-Le Forest-Clery, and on Sept. 4 the French on their right wing pushed from the line running from Barleux to south of Chaulnes as far as Soyécourt, the outskirts of Berny, the northern edge of Deniecourt, and into Vermandovillers and Chilly. At the moment of writing the abandonment of Deniecourt is admitted by the Berlin War Office.

Sept. 4 saw the beginning of the battle for Ginchy, on the Anglo-German front. On the following day the French advanced their lines north of the Somme to the region east of Le Forest. With the occupation of the village of Ommiecourt the French lines on both sides of the river were straightened out. On Sept. 9 the British attacked on a front of 6,000 meters from Foureaux Wood to Leuze Wood; all of Ginchy was taken by them. Two days later the French progressed as far as the Béthune-Peronne highway. On Sept. 15 the British took part of the Bouleaux Wood, High Wood, (Foureaux Wood,) Flers, and Martinpuich, (on the road Albert-Pozières-Bapaume,) thus seizing all the ground between the region northwest of Combles and the Béthune road as far as Courcellette.

The territorial gain made by the Allies is in itself no factor. The row of villages, woods, and road intersections taken by them can be valued from a strategical standpoint only if these points are serviceable to the attackers in the realization of their basic offensive idea. But not even the artillery preparation of these "main blows" has fulfilled its mission, namely, to wipe out the hostile infantry in its trenches or reserve positions and to destroy its supplies and communications behind the front.

For every position that the Germans give up on their front a new one is built behind the front; that is to say, a new

front is established. This means that the cohesion of the defense has been nowhere broken. And as long as the front holds, no matter whether it is taken one or two kilometers forward or backward—as long as it holds, the defensive, not the offensive, is successful.

What are kilometers in the face of the basic idea of a general offensive which means to carry the victory over tremendous fronts and areas? Not even the line Bapaume-Comblès-Peronne, geographically and strategically the immediate objective of the "grand offensive," have the attackers been able to take in two months and a half!

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From August 15 to September 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Map of Balkans on Page 39]

LAST month brought about in several of the war theatres a situation which promises more interesting results than anything which has happened in Europe during the current year. The most important of these was the entrance of Rumania as one of the Entente Powers. This action was not entirely unexpected. Despite her recent commercial treaties with the Central Powers, it was generally felt that Rumania would sooner or later line up squarely with the Entente. The question was definitely settled when Italy declared war against Germany.

This was purely a technicality. A state of war between Italy and Germany had actually existed for some time, but, for commercial and diplomatic reasons, the formal declaration was avoided. Italy's hand was in a measure forced by her own participation in the campaign at Saloniki. Sooner or later the Italian forces on this front would of necessity have come into conflict with the German troops, and then to have

maintained a semblance of peace would have been a farce. But Italy's action, while in itself it meant nothing in a military way and added not at all to the difficulties of the Central Powers, did cause Rumania to make a decision.

In such a cataclysm as that now tearing Europe, the smaller nations, if they wish to take sides, must, in order to avoid being swallowed up, choose the side which will eventually win. This was just as true the day Bulgaria declared war as it is today. But Bulgaria was too greedy to wait, she did not have sufficient information, the war had not reached a point where mature judgment was possible. Rumania is in a much more fortunate position. For two years she sat still, friends with all of her turbulent neighbors, studying, analyzing, weighing chances and probabilities. Her decision was made as a result of the most sober judgment, the most exhausting consideration, with the envoys of both parties constantly on the field, filling her ears with tales of the present and

promises of the future. If, then, Rumania decided to join the Allies, it was only because she was convinced that the Teutonic Powers were on the decline and that the laurel wreath of victory was eventually to be placed on the banners of the Entente.

Rumania's Importance

From a military standpoint, the entrance of Rumania into the war carries with it an importance which cannot well be discounted. Those powers which are adversely affected may, for the purposes of home consumption, declare that the situation has not been altered, and that Rumania will soon be crushed under the iron heel and take her place beside Belgium and Serbia. But this view will not stand the light of reason. The fact is that Rumania has injected into the war at a critical period, and at a critical point geographically, the gravest menace which the Teutonic allies have yet had to face.

The first of these has to do with numbers. Rumania has had the conscript system—compulsory military service where every one must serve and did serve. Under pressure of abnormal recruiting, Rumania could put into the field nearly a million men. Under ordinary methods this would be reduced to about 750,000. She had enrolled, equipped, and mobilized at the time she declared war about 600,000. She brings this force into the war with its proper proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers entire, untouched by casualties. She brings it in at a time when her enemies have lost a considerable proportion of their effectives. She brings them into a field where their presence will be most strongly felt. And more, she has extended the front which the Central Powers must defend by something like 900 miles.

The logical answer to this increase caused by Rumania would be, as von Falkenhayn is said to have advocated, to shorten the lines at some other point. But where? On the Russian front it is impossible without retiring to Warsaw, abandoning all conquests in Russia, abandoning Galicia and the Carpathians, and risking a serious invasion into Hungary and the defeat of a necessary ally.

This is, of course, out of the question. The only front where a shortening is possible is in France, and here, for political reasons, Germany does not dare retire.

Campaign in Transylvania

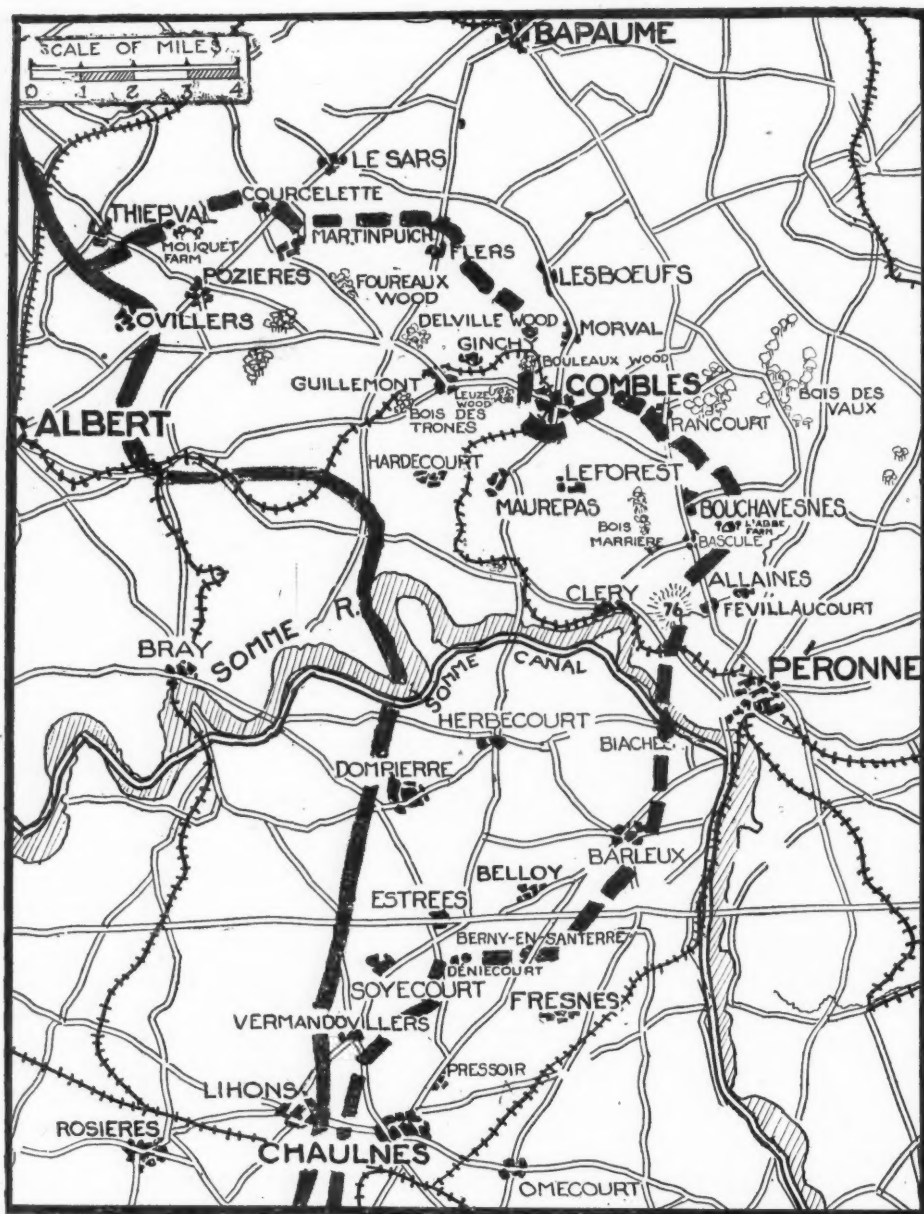
Striking at the weakest link of the Central Powers, Rumania moved at the Rumanian "irredenta"—Transylvania—and almost without opposition took possession of the passes which lead from Rumania into Hungary. Her advance since the passes fell into her possession is noteworthy, and indicates that the Austrians, as they have claimed, decided not to offer any material defense of Transylvania on account of the great length of line involved, due to the peculiar way in which Transylvania juts eastward into Rumania. This line could be reduced many miles by retiring before the Rumanian Army, permitting it to draw a chord across Transylvania, connecting the two tips of the arc formed by the Rumanian boundary. This chord generally follows the line of the Maros Valley. It is still some distance west of the Rumanian line, for, although the Austrian defense has been perfunctory, it has nevertheless retarded the advance.

This move by Rumania will have two objects. The occupation of Transylvania is one, and will popularize the war among those sections of the Rumanian population which may still be averse to it. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Russians are just north of the Carpathians and are struggling for possession of the passes which lead across to the plains of Hungary. Before these plains are reached, however, from Southern Bukowina, the maze of mountains which constitute Transylvania must be crossed.

The Russian fighting has resulted in the flattening out of the Austrian right wing against the wall of the Carpathians, while their centre is battling desperately along the Dniester River in defense of Lemberg.

Teutons in the Dobrudja

In answer to the Rumanian attacks on their western frontier, the Teutonic allies have begun an offensive against the

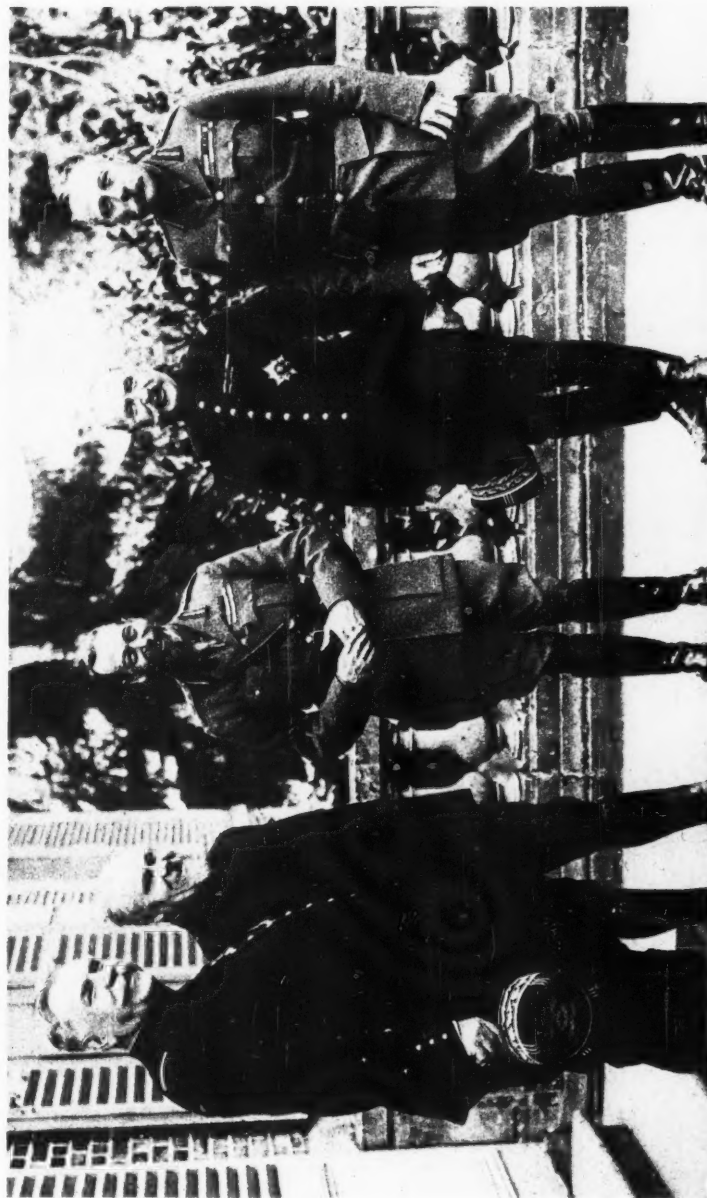


BATTLE OF THE SOMME: BROKEN LINE INDICATES POSITION OF ALLIES ON SEPT. 15.

southern border of the Rumanian province of Dobrudja. The Danube River is, for the greater part, the southern boundary of Rumania, separating it from Bulgaria. Where Dobrudja begins, however, the Danube turns north on its way to the Black Sea. This leaves a part of the southern Rumanian frontier entirely

open to attack. It is all open country, and to hold it against a large body of troops on the scale on which the greater part of the French front is held would require a force of about 200,000 men. Rumania had no such force available for this purpose while she was engaged in the fighting in the west. This, there-

A NOTEWORTHY GROUP OF ENTENTE RULERS AND COMMANDERS



Left to Right: General Joffre, President Poincare, King George of England, General Foch, and
- General Sir Douglas Haig.

(Photo from Central News Company.)

ANATOLE FRANCE AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY



From Left to Right: Marcel Prevost, De Segur, Jean Richepin, Anatole France, Ernest Lavisse, Eugene Brieux, Frederic Masson.

fore, was the location of the Teuton counter-movement.

Rumania depended for the defense of Dobrudja almost entirely upon the Russian forces on the Bessarabian frontier at Reni. These forces, however, obviously did not get into position in time, and the small Rumanian element which was on the border was easily overcome. The Teutons then advanced as far as the Danube west of the railroad which divides Dobrudja, but before they could carry their movement along the whole line from the Danube to the sea the Russians arrived and checked them. The check appears to be purely temporary, and there is reason to believe that the Teutonic forces are present in sufficient numbers to force their way to the river.

In connection with this advance, two things may be noted: First, the Danube River, for its entire length from the Black Sea to the Serbian frontier, is the natural defensive line of Rumania. The second, which is a corollary, is that no advance the Germans can make south of a line through Constanta carries any threat to Rumania as long as the Danube is not crossed. As the bridges over the river are few and far between—in fact, the only one in Dobrudja is at Cernavoda—the Germans, in spite of their initial successes, have accomplished very little.

Fighting on the Somme

The month has been characterized on the western front by a succession of heavy French attacks, and by several strong British drives toward the north. In all cases these attacks have met with success, and it seems now that the last line of German trenches has been reached in more than one section of the front. The French attacks have been directed principally against Combles, the largest town, except for Peronne, in that section of the front. Both Combles and Peronne are still held by the Germans, but the French advances north of the Somme now seriously threaten both places. Combles

indeed has been pocketed by the French on the south and the British on the north, and its fall at any time would surprise no one. Peronne has not been touched as yet, and indeed it seems that the French do not plan any direct action against it. They can from their present positions both north and south of the river reach the defenders with their guns, but their position as a result of recent successes will enable them, when they are ready to move in that direction, to reach the German lines from three sides, and in all probability flank them out of the town without subjecting it to direct fire.

The German situation in the west is becoming extremely dangerous as a result of the Somme movements of the Allies, and it is beginning to appear that a radical change will have to be made in their lines in order to prevent them from being broken. They are being badly bent now, bent so far that the entire Noyons salient will soon be thrown in danger. Before they are broken it will probably be necessary to draw them in and increase the number of defenders per mile of line. The battle of the Somme is just beginning. Before it ends it may prove the deciding factor in the western fighting.

Not a great deal has happened on other fronts. There has been some spasmodic fighting about the Saloniki position, but the allied offensive seems to have just been begun. Previously, such fighting as there was developed only into a movement in which Bulgaria was the principal participant. On the Russian front the fighting has been equally spasmodic. The Russian main effort has been concentrated about Halicz and has apparently resulted in the taking of the main defenses in the south. The city holds out, however, so that there has been no real change in the situation. Italy has been able to do but little since the fall of Gorizia. The Carso Plateau still blocks her path to Trieste, and such fighting as has occurred has been in the attempt to gain a foothold on the edge of the plateau. It has been entirely uneventful.

\$25 Reward for Each Enemy Sailor Drowned

A recent record of proceedings of the British prize court, which is in daily session at London, reads like a tale of the Middle Ages, when pirates sailed the seven seas. On Tuesday, Aug. 22, the court is thus officially reported by the London Telegraph:

IN the prize court yesterday the President, Sir Samuel Evans, awarded prize bounty amounting to £12,160 to Vice Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee and the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships *Invincible*, *Inflexible*, *Carnarvon*, *Cornwall*, *Kent*, and *Glasgow*, in respect of the destruction of the four German warships *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Nurnberg*, and *Leipzig*, in the battle of the Falkland Islands, on Dec. 8, 1914.

Commander Maxwell Anderson, R. N., counsel in support of the claim, stated that it was estimated that the total of the crews on board the enemy vessels was 2,432 persons, and thus the bounty at the rate of £5 per head amounted to £12,160. This was, he continued, the first case of a fleet action to come before the court during the present war. It would be recollected that on Nov. 1, 1914, a British squadron encountered a German fleet off the coast of Chile, and his Majesty's ships *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* were unfortunately overpowered and sunk. Whatever others might have thought of this twist of the lion's tail, it appeared that the German Admiral was under no delusion himself.

As at that time it was clean fighting, it was perhaps as well to put on record that the German Admiral, when he took his fleet into Valparaiso, refused to drink the toast of "Damnation to the British Navy," and apparently had a premonition that his own end was very near. On Dec. 8 a British squadron was lying in the harbor of Port William, Falkland Islands, under the command of Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee, K. C. B., C. V. O.,

when the German Pacific Squadron came into view. What followed was described in an affidavit by the British Admiral. He stated that he was in command of a squadron composed of the following of his Majesty's ships:

Invincible, (Captain T. P. H. Beamish, flagship.)

Inflexible, (Captain R. F. Phillimore, C. B., M. V. O.)

Carnarvon, (Captain H. L. D'E. Skipworth, flying flag of Rear Admiral A. P. Stoddart.)

Cornwall, (Captain W. M. Ellerton.)

Kent, (Captain I. D. Allen, C. B.)

Glasgow, (Captain I. Luce, C. B.)

Bristol, (Captain R. H. Fanshawe.)

Macedonia, (Captain R. S. Evans, M. V. O.,) an auxiliary.

While the squadron was at anchor in Port William on Dec. 8, at about 8 A. M., the shore signal station reported that two enemy cruisers were in sight. Steam was at once raised for full speed, and the *Kent* proceeded out of harbor to investigate. Smoke from other vessels could be observed over the horizon, and later other enemy vessels appeared in sight. Accordingly, the British squadron, with the exception of the *Bristol* and the *Macedonia*, proceeded to sea, and, clearing the harbor entrance at 9 A. M., the signal was hoisted for general chase. The enemy squadron of warships consisted of the five German cruisers *Scharnhorst*, (flying the flag of Admiral Graf von Spee,) *Gneisenau*, *Leipzig*, *Nurnberg*, and *Dresden*.

The affidavit continued: "At about 1 P. M. *Invincible* and *Inflexible* were within range of the enemy, and fire was opened at long range. Shortly after fire was opened the enemy squadron, in obedience to orders from their Admiral, scattered, *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* turning to port, while the light cruisers *Leipzig*, *Nurnberg*, and *Dresden* turned to starboard in an endeavor to escape.

"The pursuit of *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* was continued by *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, with *Carnarvon* in support, and at about 4:17 P. M. *Scharn-*

horst was sunk. At about 6 P. M. Gneisenau was sunk under the combined fire of Invincible, Inflexible, and Carnarvon. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow had continued the pursuit of the light cruisers, and at about 4:30 P. M. Kent and Cornwall came within range of Leipzig and opened fire. Kent, Cornwall, and Glasgow gradually gained on Leipzig and Nurnberg, but Dresden, increasing her distance, drew away to starboard, and finally made good her escape. Kent continued her chase of Nurnberg, which vessel she sank at about 7:10 P. M., while Cornwall and Glasgow overhauled Leipzig and sank her at about 9:23 P. M."

Admiral Sturdee added that, saving the Dresden, which, as explained, outdistanced her pursuers, all the enemy ships were destroyed and sunk by the gunfire of his Majesty's ships under his command. Bristol and Macedonia took no part in the engagement. Bristol was unable to leave harbor with the remainder of the squadron, and the Macedonia, being a vessel of small fighting value, had neither the speed nor the power to take any part in the chase. These two vessels left harbor later, and were detailed to look for the auxiliaries accompanying the enemy. Two auxiliaries were found and destroyed, while a

third escaped. The vessels destroyed were unarmed. No survivors were rescued from the Scharnhorst, but from the Gneisenau, Nurnberg, and Leipzig, a small number of prisoners were taken. From these and from information in possession of the Admiralty, Admiral Sturdee estimated that the crews of the enemy ships destroyed were as follows:

Scharnhorst, 872 persons.

Gneisenau, 835 persons.

Nurnberg, 384 persons.

Leipzig, 341 persons.

Commander Anderson said, as would be seen, the enemy vessels were disposed of by different ships; but, subject to his lordship's approval, the claimants desired to claim as in one action. The engagement started as a general action or chase, but after a time it became a series of separate actions.

Clive Lawrence, for the Crown, said he raised no objection to Admiral Sturdee's estimate of the number of persons on board the destroyed vessels.

The President, declaring the number of persons on board the four destroyed enemy vessels to be 2,432, pronounced that Admiral Sturdee, the officers, and crews of his Majesty's ships Invincible, Inflexible, Carnarvon, Cornwall, Kent, and Glasgow were entitled to prize bounty amounting to £12,160.

The Invader: A Parable

By Anatole France

Famous Member of the French Academy

Xerxes, at the head of an immense army, invades Greece. Having learned that Leonidas, King of Sparta, is getting ready to defend the pass of Thermopylae against him, he sends for Demaratus, son of the former King of the Spartans and an exile from his country, and addresses him.

XERXES—You know that the Greeks gathered to defend this pass are commanded by Leonidas.

A spy, sent by me, has observed those of them who are on this side of the wall which they have raised to close the passage. They were Spartans. Having

placed their arms against the wall, they were giving themselves naked to athletic games or carefully combing their hair. I cannot believe that they thus prepare to die fighting. On the contrary, they seem to me to be behaving in a very ridiculous manner, and I conjecture that they will retire within four days. What do you think, Demaratus?

Demaratus—O King, ought I to give you a pleasant or a truthful reply?

Xerxes—Tell the truth, and I promise you will not have to repent it.

Demaratus—O King, do not fear words of dissimulation from me. I have al-

ready told you what kind of men the Greeks are. They do not nourish vast desires and are content with what they possess. They fear the divine Nemesis which humbles those who rise too high, and they observe proportion in everything. Wisdom is their faithful companion: it preserves them from yielding to tyranny within and from practicing it without. But when I announced to you, O King, the way in which they would act toward you, you laughed at me. This time listen to me more favorably. They have come to defend this pass against you, and that is what they are preparing themselves for. Now this is their custom: before sacrificing their lives they encircle their heads with fillets and crowns.

Xerxes questions Demaratus about the Greeks, the forces they are preparing against him, and the quarrels which divide them.

Demaratus—It is true, O King, that, judging according to their sentiment of what is good and what is bad, the Greeks quarrel often and struggle, town against town, citizens against citizens. It is true that the people of Athens are not unanimous as to the way in which it is advisable to govern the city. Among the citizens some regret the tyrants and aspire to confine authority to the well-born men; others, led by brilliant, clever, and daring orators, are striving to maintain the popular government; and, again, it is true that the latter having prevailed, men who passed for just have been exiled. But these dissensions ceased at your approach, O King. The leaders of the aristocracy have been recalled to their native land, and they are today governing in conjunction with the friends of the people.

Xerxes—What does that matter to me? Heaven is on my side. Alone among men the Persians know the true gods. I have given the immortal gods the surest testimony of my piety. I have sacrificed white horses and young men to them that they may make me victorious. The Greeks worship neither the sun nor the stars and are very ignorant in matters divine. The Athenians do nothing to please the heavenly powers and refuse to shed the

blood of human victims. They defiled themselves in Lydia with horrible impieties. At Sardis they burned the temples and the sacred woods. Heaven will punish them for their crimes, and their ruin is assured. I shall wage war against them to win high renown in the eyes of men and to teach all peoples what it costs to invade a country that belongs to me. My plan is to conquer not only Greece, but all Europe. Europe is beautiful; there the sky is soft and the earth fertile and all sorts of fruit trees are cultivated. Of all mortals I alone am worthy of its possession.

Demaratus—O King, take in good part what remains for me to tell you. Listen, I speak to you as to a sacred host. King, do not avenge yourself too cruelly on the Athenians. The vengeance of men are odious to the gods. Son of Darius, if you believe in a god, if you believe you are in command of an army of immortals, you do not want my advice. But if you recognize that you are a man and that you are in command of men, consider that fortune is like a wheel which turns ceaselessly and throws down those whom it has raised. It never happens, it never will happen, that a mortal should from birth to death experience constant good fortune. For the loftiest heads are reserved the most terrible calamities. I have spoken out because you have forced me to. Now may what you desire come to pass, O King!

At these words Xerxes sent Demaratus away without anger. He was not annoyed with him, because he thought he was out of his mind.

However, he was soon aware that the Spartan was not mistaken. The Greeks remained steady and resolute and would have blocked the way had not a man of Malis named Ephialtus shown Mardonius a little-known path which was not guarded and by which the barbarians penetrated into Greece. Seeing themselves outflanked, the Greeks, with the exception of 400 Thebans, 700 Thespians, and 300 Spartans, who allowed their lives to be sacrificed for their country, withdrew to fight elsewhere. The Persians, having seized Athens, which was devoid of

combatants, massacred the old men, plundered the temple, and burned the citadel. Meanwhile, the Athenians, who had retired in 380 galleys, destroyed 1,200 Persian ships in the Straits of Salamis.

Xerxes returned to Asia alone in a fisherman's boat. He left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. The barbarians ravaged Attica, burned what remained of Athens, and passed into Boeotia. A year after the flight of the great King Mardonius was vanquished and killed at Plataea, at the foot of

Cithaeron. And at the same time the Persian warships which had escaped the disaster of Salamis were sunk by the allied Athenians and Spartans at the promontory of Mycale.

Thus the words of Demaratus came true to the last particular. Neither abundance of gold nor the number of ships nor the multitude of men prevailed against the courage and wisdom of the Greeks. Europe had heard the last of an insolent threat and no longer feared the yoke of the barbarians.

Retaliation for Interference With American Trade

THE United States Congress, in the closing hours of the recent session, adopted a law which confers on the President the power to take drastic retaliatory measures against any foreign Government that interferes with our commerce or mails in palpable violation of international law. As finally agreed upon, the first of the retaliatory authorizations reads:

Whenever any country, dependency, or colony shall prohibit the importation of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals, the President shall have power to prohibit, during the period such prohibition is in force, the importation into the United States of similar articles, or in case the United States does not import similar articles from that country, then, other articles, the products of such country, dependency, or colony.

That whenever, during the existence of a war in which the United States is not engaged, the President shall be satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe that under the laws, regulations, or practice of nations the importation into their own or any other country, dependency, or colony of any article the product of the soil or industry of the United States and not injurious to health or morals is prevented or restricted, the President is authorized and empowered to prohibit or restrict during the period such prohibition or restriction is in force the importation into the United States of similar or other articles, products of such country, dependency, or colony, as in his opinion the public interest may require; and in such case he shall make proclamation stating the article or articles which are prohibited from importation into the United States, and any person or persons who shall import or at-

tempt or conspire to import or be concerned in importing such article or articles into the United States contrary to the prohibition in such proclamation shall be liable to a fine of not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$50,000 or to imprisonment not to exceed two years, or both, in the discretion of the court. The President may change, modify, revoke, or renew such proclamation in his discretion and the Senate agree to the same.

The second retaliation measure, based on the same war conditions, gives the President authority to withhold clearance to vessels of a belligerent nation "making or giving any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage in any respect whatsoever to any particular person, company, firm, or corporation, or any particular description of traffic in the United States or its possessions or to any citizens of the United States residing in neutral countries."

The law also gives authority to the President to deny American facilities of commerce to citizens in the United States of an offending belligerent nation, and authorizes him to use the land and naval forces of the Government to enforce the retaliatory provisions.

These measures were drawn by the State Department and have the approval of the President. It is construed that this action is our reply to "the blacklist" adopted by the allied powers, the interference with United States mail by the Allies, and the embargo on certain American products by Germany and Great Britain.

The Desecrated Birthplace of La Fontaine

By Gabriel Alphaud

[Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

[La Fontaine, the famous French writer of fables, was born at Château-Thierry, and his birthplace is still reverently preserved by the State as a shrine.]

IN the Elysian Fields, whither it has gone to join the souls of other vanished sages, the shade of La Fontaine must feel some inquietude. He did not love children, not even his own, whom he saluted one day in a crowd without recognizing them. "Youth is without pity," he wrote of them. Now the school children of the Aisne have been driven by the German invasion as far as Château-Thierry, where they are living today in the house in which the fabulist was born. Their shouts disturb the haunts where the philosopher prolonged the reveries he had begun in the highways and meadows of the neighborhood.

Against the façade of this house, with its softened tones of age, the crime of treason against beauty had been committed before the war: back of the grille of forged ironwork, and in the inner court, a horrible whitewash, insolent in its whiteness, covered the panels of the walls. It is in the apartments themselves that a new upheaval—though for a good cause—has just taken place. The pictures of Desbrosses, of Lhermite, of Teniers, of Vithoos, the drawings of Daubigny, relics of La Fontaine's birthplace, which had been transformed into a municipal museum, have been removed. School mottoes and geography maps have replaced them: in the halls and rooms now are found classes of boys and girls. The shade of La Fontaine is compelled to desert the precipitous street, paved with loose cobblestones, and to descend to the banks where the Marne, peaceful and beautiful, flows between two paths of fine sand.

Never, indeed, has the Marne seemed more graceful or flowed in an atmosphere more simple. Its recent immortality, the noise made in the world by the victory that has rendered it famous, has not altered its habits: in its new glory it seems to have acquired a new indifference, an indifference to battle, to cannon.

Not far from it, however, the great guns of the warring nations still mingle their wild voices day and night. These voices were heard by Château-Thierry and the Marne for the first time on Aug. 31, 1914. It was the retreat. On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, the enemy entered the town by the Soissons road. With their rifles on their shoulders, in columns by eights, and keeping parade step, the regiments of Von Kluck filed in and stacked their arms in Champ de Mars square on the right bank of the river. Their patrols were stationed on the crossings and streets in every direction on both sides of the bridges. After a lively combat the soldiers who formed our rearguard had cut their way out with rifle and bayonet, and had disappeared.

An order was given by Prussian authority to occupy and barricade the principal houses. On the public square the Court House was immediately invaded. In the hall where President Magnaud had once decreed as a "good Judge" the acquittal of the poor woman who had stolen bread, the Prussians put everything to pillage. The clerk's records, torn, shredded, honeycombed, served to build improvised loopholes at the windows and doors.

On the other side of the river, facing the Court House, lies a beautiful estate. The buildings on the north wing are used as a factory. Those of the south wing have been transformed into a

château of sumptuous appearance. Between the two a park spreads the foliage of its magnificent forest trees, hiding the factory from the château. The Prussian command chose the château as the headquarters of its General Staff, and from the first hour announced—already!—its intention of seizing the important stocks of copper in the factory.

The estate had been left in charge of two old servants, Hector and his wife Fanny, who has a blue-ribbon reputation as a cook. Hector received the German officers who first appeared. They spoke French without the slightest accent. They knew the inhabitants and contents of the house, the names of the two domestics, even the fact that Fanny cooked certain dishes divinely, especially rabbit à la royale. The news that she had remained, with the affirmation that she would prepare appetizing meals on condition that the estate be not molested, put the German officers into a good humor.

A last quick inquiry, made in a tone of apparent indifference, sought to discover whether the stocks of copper were still there. This was enough to cause the wily Hector to invent diplomatic stratagems each day, with a view to making von Kluck's officers forget the supplies which they coveted. The fare was exquisite, the best wines came from the cellars for every meal, old liqueurs and choice cigars were lavished upon the guests. Chance also favored Hector. Through the edges of the battle of the Marne the German officers went and came and went again, giving the place to others and taking it back by turns. On the 9th of September, after seven whole days of occupation, General von Kluck suddenly gave the order for his army to retreat toward the north. The copper was saved.

A piquant detail: When von Kluck's order reached Château-Thierry it was about noon. A fat Prussian General quartered in the château was preparing to sit down at the table and enjoy a juicy beefsteak which Fanny had declared to be unusually good. Though he sprang to the saddle on receiving the order, he demanded that Hector serve the

steak to him as he sat on horseback; and as events moved swiftly, the General, in order not to lose a mouthful, seized the enormous slice of meat, all hot and sticky with sauce, carried it in his right hand, and with his left gave the reins to his beast for flight. He was wise in his Teutonic gluttony, too, for six other German officers who were at a table a few paces away in the Swan Hotel, and who refused to believe in the victorious return of the French, were made prisoner in the turn of a hand by two little "glaziers." One of them fired on the group from the rear court, which opens on the street. The bullet went through the wall and carved a beautiful spider's web in the dining room mirror, at the centre of which it still remains in full sight. "Surrender!" cried the chasseur, as he leaped over the threshold; and the six German officers, seeing a second French military cap appear behind the first, surrendered.

The City of La Fontaine was freed, but not all the Department of the Aisne. Out of thirty-seven cantons, barely eleven were to regain their liberties and the joys of their native land. Today out of 841 communities only 265 have escaped German occupation. Of the 550,000 inhabitants who lived in this department before the war, 125,000 now occupy the soil on which they were born and welcomed. Many have taken refuge in other provinces, notably in those of Yonne, Loiret, Orne, and Aude. There are 12,000 in Paris. About 15,000, civil and military, are prisoners in Germany, where their number is diminishing daily, thanks to the work of repatriation. Few remained on this side of the German lines: the frontier populations particularly detest the invader.

Château-Thierry, a sub-prefecture of 7,500 inhabitants, might have kept this number; but after the victory of the Marne the report spread of a second victory on the Aisne. Those who had fled before the enemy believed their whole department liberated, and flowed back, impelled by love of the earth, by devotion to their buried dead, by the passion of their griefs and hopes. The firing line stopped them. They refused to depart again, in-

toxicated anew by the odor of their native soil, plunging their gaze beyond the horizon to the belfry or village, to the cherished field or house where they had known the happiness of home. Thus Château-Thierry and the liberated cantons saw their population doubled.

In the town itself, where most of the houses had been left uninjured, it was relatively easy to reorganize a normal life. It was less easy, however, in the hamlets and farming communities, where the peasants, despoiled of everything by the soldiers of von Kluck, no longer had linen, furniture, or food. From all over France came help for these. Prefects and Sub-Prefects might be seen in their silver-embroidered uniforms and gold-laced caps, transporting, now in rude wagons, now in luxurious automobiles, great sacks of supplies for the ruined villages. Everybody was shouting at once in more than 200 communes: Food, more food, still more food! It seemed as if it would never be possible to satisfy them. Salt, which caused so many insurrections in the ancient days of the salt tax, was lacking everywhere; it had never before seemed so indispensable. Then it was clothes and bedding. In each community there were episodes of rare beauty. At Epieds three women who were still suckling their infants took refuge. Under their weight of misery and hunger they had crept into a muddy shed and were sleeping on a pile of dirty straw. A poor old woman of 80, wrinkled and broken, found them there, and called the attention of the officials to their plight. By way of example she returned a quarter of an hour later carrying in her trembling hands a woolen comforter which she had brought, with the slow steps of an old woman, from her home.

"The Germans have robbed me of everything," she said; "but I still have this. I already have one foot in the grave, and am perhaps more accustomed to suffering. Give it to them, monsieur, for the babies."

Two years have passed over these miseries. In the freed territory life has returned, and acts of devotion have multiplied. Soissons is under shell fire. Of 14,000 inhabitants scarcely 400 have re-

mained, among whom are a baker who fills his ovens daily, two grocers, a butcher who sells fish, wine, preserves, and one photographer. Mme. Macherez and Mlle. Sellier labor tirelessly at a task which the War Cross has made famous and which the Audiffred prize of 15,000 francs has further magnified. Do you know the latest of Mlle. Sellier's lovely deeds? She is the daughter of well-to-do parents. Feeling too highly honored by the mention of the institute, she has refused its gold and begged Mme. Macherez to take her 7,500 francs and devote the whole to the misfortunes of the devastated village.

The capital of the Aisne today is Château-Thierry. In its Town Hall are assembled all the administrative services of the department. * * * Nor do all the provisions come from Paris. The fields sown by the peasant of the Aisne furnish anew their tribute, in which is found once more the savory perfume of the soil of the Ile-de-France. From the Marne to the Aisne there is not a corner left fallow.

The families scattered by the war are gradually reuniting. In the evening, "between dog and wolf," at the hour when light vapors rise from the river and spread along the lanes like a protecting and favoring veil, it is not rare to see the girls and young men of the neighborhood going arm in arm to gay betrothal parties. Some of the men, decorated with the War Cross, have undergone glorious amputations; their love is all the livelier on that account; in their arms the girls seem more beautiful, and are all laughter. The couples flee under the foliage of the fine trees, far from the populous section where stands the statue of the fabulist. Yet he would not be the one to say unkind things to them if he were living. La Fontaine described himself as "a light thing," lovable and loving, lively and delicate, whom a pretty face, a prepossessing manner, a fresh laugh, a floating lock of hair, a white hand carelessly arranging the fold of a gown, have always rendered amorous and dreamy. His frivolity, his skepticism, his indulgence would bestow upon the romantic couples only the happiest of smiles.

Rumania's Intervention

By a British Commissioner

FOR months Bucharest had been a hotbed of intrigue second only to Saloniki and Athens. The question frequently asked was, Would the assumed sympathies of a Hohenzolern King, comparatively fresh from Germany and German influences, prevail over the natural Franco-Italian tendencies of the Rumanian Nation and cause a Teutonic orientation? Kingly influence and German relationship had helped to bring Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers, in opposition to her old friend and liberator, Russia. It was known that Constantine and his consort prevented Greece from entering the arena against Germany; and there was a natural anticipation that Rumania might abandon her neutrality and array herself on the side which appeared to be invincible.

The Critical Period

When I was in the Rumanian capital the allied diplomacy had been discredited in the Balkans, and British arms had been defeated at Gallipoli. The Macedonian enterprise was beginning to develop, but not having reached its present formidable pitch of strength was none too hopefully regarded. Russia had not displayed signs of that offensive which it was hoped would dislodge the Austro-German armies from the positions they had secured all along the line from the Baltic provinces in the north to Volhynia in the South. There was a deadlock on the western front, though we were constantly hearing of the projected allied drive in the Spring. Italy, toward whom Rumania was looking with interested eyes, was engaged in a terrific struggle with Austria in the Alpine passes, and the prospects of Italia Irredenta becoming Italia Redenta were none too hopeful. But on Italy seemed to depend the prospect of the recovery by Rumania of her lost territory. Should Italy wrest back the Trentino and Trieste, Rumania might

very likely recover her territory of Transylvania.

A Secret Treaty

It was understood that a treaty existed under which Italy had promised to Rumania the restoration of Transylvania after the war on certain conditions. Germany and Austria were aware of this, but were not greatly alarmed, as neither felt that Rumania's assistance was necessary. What chance, it might be asked, had Rumania, on the one hand, of getting back her lost province with the aid of Italy or any other country, or, on the other hand, of fulfilling that aspiration with the aid of the Teutonic Alliance? Italy was at a deadlock with Austria, Austria was not willing to relinquish an inch of territory in return for Rumania's active support, and Germany would not bring pressure to bear on her ally in Rumania's behalf. The fact is, the Teuton Powers were beguiled, if not besotted, with their successes, or, at any rate, the successes of Germany, and could not see a cloud on the horizon.

Definite Entente Promises

Meanwhile Russia had been negotiating, and had made definitive and alluring promises to Rumania. They included the cession of the Bukowina, together with armed assistance in wresting Transylvania from Austria. As previously said, neutrality would bring Rumania nothing, save in the event of a Teuton triumph, when probably she would come still more under the Austrian yoke. Entry on the side of the Central Powers gave no promise of post-bellum advantage. On the other hand, the promises of Italy and Russia, or perhaps it should be said the Entente round table, were definite. And at length Russia was able to show her ability to bring them to fulfillment by sweeping through Bukowina and capturing the whole of that Austrian crownland.

It remained for Rumania to open the

way for Russia to bring about the downfall of Austria and of her other traditional enemy, Bulgaria, and at the same time to win back Transylvania. Moreover, simultaneously with Russia's success in the Bukowina came Italy's capture of Gorizia. Is it to be wondered at that Rumania came in on the side of those who were in the best position to enable her to realize her national aspirations?

Life in Bucharest

After one had spent a few days in the bright and handsome capital of that country—the city of joy or pleasure, as its name literally signifies—it was not difficult to realize that the sentiments of the people, the politicians, and of the army were decidedly pro-Entente, while interest in the fortunes of the Italian and French armies was considerable. The Rumanians pride themselves on their Latin origin, which is indicated in their name; their language has obviously a Latin foundation, and here and there in the country are Roman remains from the days of Trajan. The Rumanian capital may be likened to a small Paris or Vienna, with its prosperous population of over 350,000, its spacious streets and shady squares and boulevards, its palaces and other large public buildings, its baroque cathedrals and churches, its fine opera house and theatres, and its nocturnal gayety.

Much money was also being spent in backstairs intrigue by the representatives of nations which need not be named. The baser sort of politicians and publicists had been captured by this means, and announcements of Teutonic victories were made in grandiloquent fashion in some of the newspapers, which any one acquainted with Latin, or the French and Italian languages, had little difficulty in reading. My own mission was peaceful, entirely non-diplomatic and uncommercial; nevertheless I found myself the subject of persistent and unwelcome attentions and was "shadowed" everywhere I went. The hotels were filled with international spies who noted my going out and my coming in, and whom I could rarely shake off until I found myself in my own room at the

hotel—then under German management. When at length it was recognized that I was merely interested in the medical and sanitary aspect of the war I was left more or less to myself.

Just then Germany was more concerned with Rumania as a country rich in corn and oil than as a potential fighting factor. German agents were to be met everywhere endeavoring to negotiate the purchase of wheat, petroleum, cattle, horses, hides, poultry, eggs, cotton materials, and many other things which were scarce in Germany.

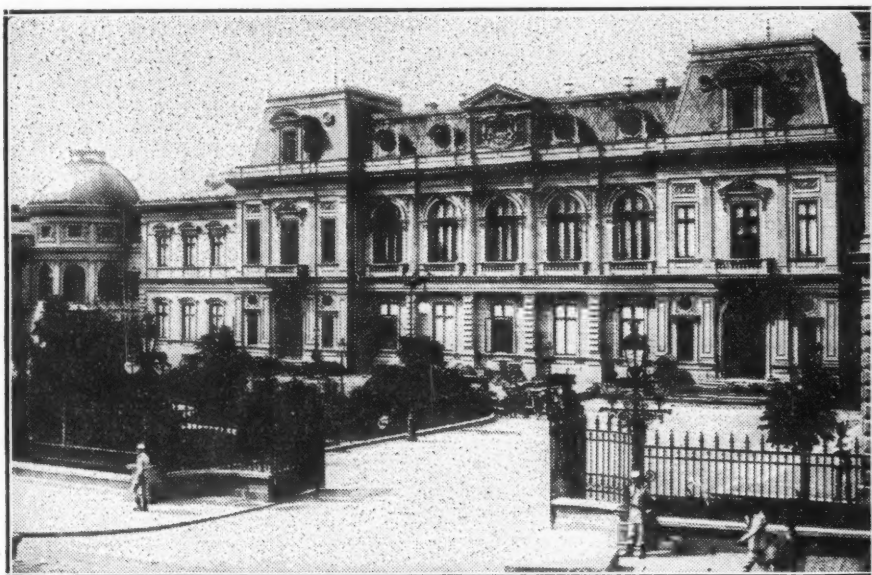
Cornering Rumanian Wheat

Russian agents were also busily buying, and so, too, were a few British, though Great Britain could not get delivery. But that did not prevent the Rumanian authorities from selling to British representatives a considerably greater quantity of wheat than was sold to Germany. The latter purchase, moreover, was held up by the fact that the British wheat monopolized a large number of the railway cars which were needed to transport the grain, sold to Germany, across the frontier. A straw will show the direction of the current; and this incident, which gave great annoyance to Germany, was instructive.

German agents were always ready to outbid other buyers and offered extravagant prices; there was a good deal of smuggling over the border, and a few Rumanian officials were blindly complaisant. But presently higher authority stepped in and prevented Teuton buyers from getting more than their share. This happened particularly in connection with petroleum. It was impossible to allege that Russia, which has its own extensive oldfields, stood in need of this commodity. Therefore Germany was getting practically the whole of Rumania's export of petroleum. But the Government intervened and placed an embargo on the article, giving as the reason that the country was being drained of oil which it needed for its own use. This was a serious blow.

German Interests Dominant

Not only were the Rumanian oilfields



ROYAL PALACE AT BUCHAREST, RUMANIA.

principally owned and worked by Germans, but many other industries of the country were under similar control. Rumania's public indebtedness is principally to Germany, and there were German banks at Bucharest and other cities and towns. Many hotels had German managers, with Teutonic staffs; in fact, Germany had much the same position in Rumania that she had secured in Russia and Italy. But it cannot be said that the Teuton elements of the population were esteemed or popular, and the disesteem in which they were held was due largely to their arrogant airs toward the local population. German agents boasted in the cafés and public places of what would happen when Germany had won the war, as she was certain to do, and they were disposed to threaten. This minatory tone was adopted by the German press in discussing the hold-up of grain purchases in Rumania.

For some weeks early in the present year German papers and magazines published and commented on the alleged orientation of the Rumanian Government toward military intervention on the side of the Quadruple Entente, and these papers were freely circulated in Bucharest. Sensational telegrams were given a place in the leading journals of Berlin,

Cologne, Munich, and other cities, stating as an accomplished fact the dispatch by Germany and Austria of an ultimatum to Rumania. The news was only published to be contradicted the next day, but obviously it was intended to have an alarmist effect at Bucharest. It was modified to the extent of saying that the position was very grave, and that the Cabinet of Bucharest was on the eve of a decisive declaration.

Bratiano's Attitude

But the Prime Minister, Joan Bratiano, was not to be drawn. He remained calm and sphinx-like, professing no desire beyond that of keeping his country out of the war. Nevertheless the tone of hostility and menace on the part of the semi-official German press was maintained, and, as the "Correspondant" said, was evidently intended to intimidate the country. For instance, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of Sunday, Jan. 30, contained a long telegram upon the attitude of Rumania. It was really a criticism, veiled but hostile, of "the kind of neutrality which finds favor in Rumania—a neutrality which delays decision up to the point when events render the decision more easy and also as little dangerous as possible." The article

concluded in these terms: "It is not necessary to theorize in order to understand what will be the decision of Rumania if the French and English in the South East and the Russians in the immediate neighborhood of Rumania realize some sort of a decisive success. Up to the present they have not achieved such success, and, to speak modestly, it is extremely improbable that they will do so."

All of which goes to show that Germany was counting on certain contingencies and that she was willing, if possible, to bully Rumania into following her fortunes. But Bratiano is not the sort of man to be bullied, and the King maintained then, as later, a strictly constitutional attitude, and did nothing to influence, or at any rate to circumvent, his Ministers.

German Press Threatens

One may also take note of the remarks of the Berliner Tageblatt with regard to the non-delivery of the wheat shipment referred to. "Rumania," it said, "has sold to the two Central Empires 50,000 carloads, or 500,000 tons, of wheat. But she has rendered the transport of these cereals extremely difficult, not to say impossible, since she has, on the other hand, sold 80,000 carloads, or 800,000 tons, to England. All the available Rumanian cars have been loaded with grain for that country. It is true that they have not been dispatched, that they cannot get out of Rumania, but the immediate consequence of this last sale is that there are no cars for the transport of grain into Germany."

The same paper, after having allowed it to be understood that the sale of grain to England might well be fictitious, and entered into merely in order to prevent Germany from receiving what she had bought, went on to speak on the military situation as follows: "While not actually ordering mobilization, the Rumanian Government maintains under arms four-fifths of the army. The greater part of these troops and of heavy artillery are concentrated to the south along the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier, and on the north on the Austro-Hungarian border, while the troops on

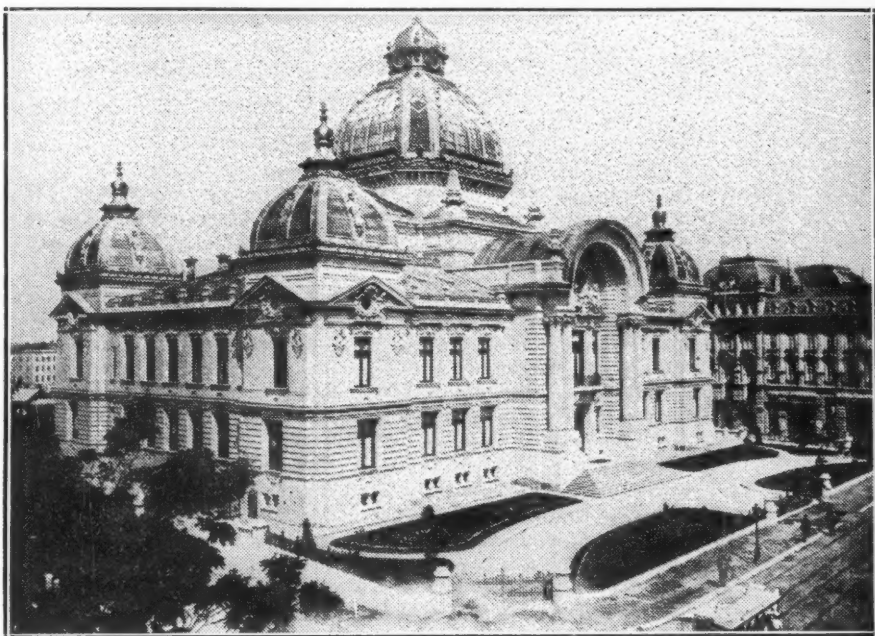
the Bessarabian (Russian) frontier have not received any reinforcement. The position merits on the part of the Central Powers the most serious attention, for the Quadruple Entente declares that it will have Greece and Rumania on its side at the moment of the great offensive which is preparing on all fronts. It would thus be as well for the two empires to oblige Rumania to change its attitude. They have the means." Whether or not they had the means, they did not succeed in frightening Rumania or compelling her to change her attitude.

Rumania Collects Guns

While Rumania stated that she intended to maintain neutrality unless compelled to defend herself from aggression, she was receiving substantial war supplies from Russia, Germany, and other countries; in fact in the matter of purchasing arms and ammunition she maintained strict neutrality. Austria, Japan, Great Britain, and other countries all helped to swell her stocks of big and little guns. Before the war and in its early stages she had received large quantities of Krupp guns and Mannlicher rifles from Germany; also payment from Germany later for wheat and other supplies in guns and shells, a fact which has greatly annoyed the press of that country, which now talks about perfidy. Germany, having taken the initiative in showing that she considers all fair in war, is scarcely in a position to reproach Rumania or any other country with that sin.

But, while Russia, Japan, and Germany were thus filling Rumanian arsenals, she herself was busily occupied in manufacturing munitions, until her army was able to enter the field in a state of thorough equipment. The fact indeed is clear that Rumania, like Italy, came into the war when she was ready to do so, and it may be added she came in on the signal of that country, the gesture being Italy's formal declaration of war against Germany.

Looking back at things as I saw them in Bucharest, there was almost ostentatious esteem manifested for the French, Italians, and Russians in of-



NATIONAL BANK OF BUCHAREST, RUMANIA

ficial and political circles. As for the Court, the Queen's sympathies were openly pro-ally, quite as much as the Queen of Greece's sympathies were pro-German. Moreover, it was said that Queen Marie had at least as much influence over her husband as Queen Sophia has over hers. Her parentage would account for her sympathies, and she is proud of the fact that she is the daughter of an English Prince and a Russian Princess of the house of Romanoff. This beautiful and brilliant woman received with marked favor Russian and British officers and envoys as well as representatives of other allies of the Entente who on occasions attended her Court. On the other hand, her intercourse with German and Austrian representatives was formal, and her attitude toward them correct but cool.

A Visit to Queen Marie

The day after my arrival at Bucharest I paid my respects at the royal palace, a Romanesque and handsome building. Together with a Court official, who had accompanied me from my hotel, I was ushered into a lofty and handsome

salon, in which were a few fine portraits, including a characteristic oil-painting of the late Carmen Sylva in national costume, and another of her husband, King Carol, in uniform. We were told that her Majesty would be with us shortly, and I do not exaggerate when I say that a little later I found myself in the presence of one of the handsomest and most queenly women in Europe.

It is not polite to talk about a lady's age, even if it be recorded in the *Almanach de Gotha*. Suffice it that although her Majesty has several children, including a grown-up son who is a keen and capable officer in the army, she looks a young woman, and is radiantly beautiful. Above middle height, of superb figure and carriage, with regular but mobile features and glorious eyes, she is "every inch a Queen," and it was easy to realize that she is, as I had often heard, the most popular woman in Rumania, more beloved even than was Carmen Sylva herself. She referred to the objects of my visit, and asked me what institutions I had seen or intended to visit, what opinions I had formed

with respect to the army medical and Red Cross establishments, and how they compared with others I had seen elsewhere.

A Fortunate Remark

The Queen seemed pleased when I said that the Russian sanitary department and Red Cross establishments were among the best in Europe. I described to her the wonderful hospital trains given by the Czar, Czarina, and other members of the Russian royal house, and added that so far from Russia having anything to learn from other European countries, in certain respects she could give them points. I had not realized when I spoke that the Queen is half Russian herself, her mother being the daughter of the Czar Nicholas I. But her gratification at my remarks was manifest, and I was subsequently enlightened as to the reason.

Questioning me as to the general health of the various armies of the Entente, she paid a high tribute to English nursing, and said she had secured a few English nurses for hospitals in which she was interested, and wished she could get more, while she would be glad if American nurses and doctors would also turn their attention to Rumania. The tone of her Majesty's conversation suggested that she knew that before long Rumanian hospitals would be needed for wounded men; indeed, there was little reserve in her references to the possibilities of the future. Apart from an occasional thoughtfulness in tone, the Queen's vivacity was remarkable, and she seemed to radiate high spirits. Though far from lacking in dignity, her manners and speech occasionally bordered on the unconventional. Her English was colloquial, with barely a trace of foreign accent.

"You are to see the King, of course?" she asked. I replied that I should have that honor if his Majesty would deign to see me. "But, of course," replied the Queen, "what are you here for if not to see the King?" To this I did not venture a reply. An attendant appeared at some signal and received an order from the Queen in a low tone. "The King

will be here very soon," she said, and went on with the conversation.

View of King Ferdinand

Shortly afterward his Majesty appeared, and received me graciously. Rather tall, slender, and erect, with aquiline aristocratic features, pointed beard and mustache, thick hair worn à la brosse, and turning to gray, he looks soldierly and kingly, which not all Kings succeed in doing. He, too, spoke English, but more slowly than his consort, his remarks being carefully prepared in his mind before he spoke them. Like the Queen, he was interested in sanitary questions affecting the army, and gave me details which showed that he regarded such matters scientifically. The Queen repeated to him what I had said about Russia, and his Majesty paid a tribute to the organizing ability of Prince Alexander of Oldenburg, head of the Russian Sanitary Department of the Army, and added questions with respect to Russian medical administration.

His Majesty struck me as a grave and courteous gentleman, with a definite viewpoint of his own. I subsequently learned from the official who accompanied me that the King is a man of firmness and force of character. He fully recognizes the position and responsibilities of a constitutional monarch, whose first duty is to safeguard the interests and advance the national aspirations of the people, in accordance with the advice of their representatives. He has been heard to say: "I am a Rumanian first and all the time. I am no longer a German Prince. I have many near and dear German relations and friends, but I have no German ties or entanglements. Those who refer to me as a Hohenzollern Prince might as well call me a Bourbon or Hapsburg Prince. I am neither one nor the other. I am a Rumanian and King of Rumania."

Rumanian Preparedness

When the crucial moment came for him to decide he maintained his constitutional attitude, summoned his Council of Ministers, and acted as they advised; and, the die being cast for war, he at once went to the front and assumed

command of his army, of which he is officially Inspector General. At its full strength, including all reserves, it totals over 800,000 men, and it is well drilled and well armed. For a long time past more than half the army has been on frontier and garrison service, and in strict and constant training, with plenty of field duty. As the German papers stated, they have been stationed on certain frontiers and outposts, and when war was declared were ready, to the last cartridge and button.

The soldiers may not be veterans, in the sense that the Serbs and Bulgars are, but they are well set up and well drilled, the cavalry arm being particularly fine, scarcely second to the Cossacks. To a man, they all receive preliminary training between the ages of 19 and 21, while the full period of service is twenty-five years, covering seven years in the regular army, twelve in the reserve, and six in the militia. The fact that they will fight side by side with Russian troops, which will pass through Rumania to the southern border in order to face Bulgaria, has led to the Rumanian Government adopting the same restrictions with respect to strong liquor which were decreed by the Czar at the outset of the war. The Rumanian peasant or soldier is not such a drunkard as was the *mushik*, but enforced abstinence will be all to his advantage.

Peasants Are Prosperous

Since the war began there have been erroneous statements with respect to Rumania which call for correction by the submission of facts. It has been said, for instance, that the country suffers as the result of its land laws. Few agricultural countries have escaped this aspersion, and few deserve it less than Rumania. Certainly the revolt of 1888 was agrarian, and was fomented by Moldavian peasants, who, on visiting the capital, were disappointed at not receiving a promised allotment of land. But the peasantry as a whole are a

prosperous and contented lot, and the productiveness of the soil and the good tillage are proved by the heavy crops of wheat and maize. Rumania is also a large dairying and egg-producing country. Her total grain exports amount to about \$200,000,000 annually.

There are large agricultural syndicates or co-operative societies all over the country, having for their object the purchase of machinery by installments, also implements and seed, as well as the marketing of the members' produce in order to avoid the intervention and profit of the middleman. Besides that great trade waterway, the Danube, Rumania has about 2,500 miles of railway, which tap the agricultural districts, touch all the strategic points, and radiate to the frontiers.

The Jewish Question

Something remains to be said about the Jewish question in Rumania, as that also seems liable to be misunderstood and magnified. Rumania's difficulty, or it might be said the difficulty of the Jews, is not as great as it is in Russia. But they are deprived of many elementary rights of citizenship which must be extended after the war, if the inclusion in Rumanian territory of Transylvania and Bukowina is to be justified. In the latter countries the Jews possess rights and privileges which are not accorded to the Jews of Rumania and Russia. The fact that the Russian authorities are commencing to give the Jewish question consideration is hopeful, and when the final terms of peace come in for consideration the matter will have to be dealt with in its entirety. Civilization and justice will be content with nothing short of extending the same rights to the Jews of Russia and the Balkans as those which are enjoyed by them in the United States and Great Britain, and which are not withheld from them by the Central Powers. On the whole the entry of Rumania into the war augurs well rather than ill for the Jews of that country.

Honorable Neutrality Impossible

By Take Jonsescu

Leader of the National Democratic Party in Rumania

M. Jonsescu, foremost of the pro-Entente statesmen of Rumania, made a historic address last Winter in the Chamber of Deputies, urging his countrymen to enter the war on the side of the Allies. After many months, Rumania has followed his counsel. The more significant portions of the speech in question, printed below, now have historic interest.

THOSE who lived in the time of Jesus Christ had no idea of how the history of humanity was to be affected by the coming of Christianity. During the barbaric invasions nobody took into account what transformations they involved. Nobody knew that therefrom might result the death of civilization for a thousand years. If people had realized the meaning of these things they would have made better defense against them. At the time of the French Revolution people had no idea of the tremendous consequences it was to bring, of the far distance they would reach. Today, gentlemen, I think we are confronted, not with an ordinary war which will simply involve a certain changing of frontiers, with things after that very much as they were before. We are faced by a catastrophe involving the whole of the human race; we have before our eyes the declining twilight of one world, preceding the dawn of another and a new.

And note, gentlemen, how grave is the problem with which humanity is faced today! You see Italy, instead of accepting a gratuitous increase of territory, throwing herself of her own free will into the horrors of war. And it is not alone the people of Europe who are throbbing with excitement today. Have you never asked yourselves what these new nations are doing in the great conflict—the young republics founded by the Anglo-Saxons across the ocean? Why is it that we see Canada, Australia, New Zealand enrolling from 7 to 8 per cent. of their populations as volunteers for the front? Is it for love of the motherland?

Sentiment does not move humanity to such a degree as that. How is it the conscience of the United States of America has become uneasy? Out of love for England? Nothing of the sort, gentle-

men. To attack Great Britain has always been recognized as a safe and popular note by orators in the United States; it is known as "twisting the British lion's tail." Why, then, is it disturbed, this democracy of a hundred million souls, engaged in making the most glorious experiment imaginable; the creation of a civilization without prejudices, with no class distinctions, with no monarchy, no militarism, no hindrance of any sort—a civilization based solely on the nationalist sovereignty carried to its extremest limits?

This entire movement can have but one explanation, namely, that we are confronted with a transformation of the human race, a transformation which expresses itself in the form of a general massacre. It is a struggle between two worlds, and we shall see which of the two shall succeed in obtaining the mastery. Were it otherwise this war would not be possible, and it would not be waged with the fury that distinguishes it from all others.

Gentlemen, the truth is that in this war, which was most certainly provoked by the Germans, we see the last attempt made by a single people to secure for itself a universal hegemony.

If the German soldier were to win today the first result would be that the same military force, which is the greatest in the world, would also be the greatest naval force, and there would be no more independence, no more liberty for any one in the world, not even for the great American democracy. If ever the day should come when one and the same State had domination not only on land but also on sea—the day on which the Roman Empire should be reconstituted in conformity with the affirmation once made by the Emperor William that the

time would come when all men would be happy to call themselves German, just as formerly one exclaimed joyously, "Civis Romanus sum," then the free life of each one of us would be at an end.

Well, and what is the basis of this attempt that is being made? Is it founded on some higher state of civilization? Is it justified by a superiority of such a nature that it should have the right to dominate the whole world, with the rest of us content to run behind the conqueror in his triumphal car?

Is there a single hypothesis among all the hypotheses forming the basis and the poetry of science; is there one of all the discoveries which have contributed to the progress—the material progress—of modern life; is there one among all the ideas that have roused the world to enthusiasm; is there one of all the creations of art which would be lost if we were to remove Germany's contribution? No, gentlemen, the treasure possessed by the human race would remain intact, a little reduced, to be sure, but in no wise diminished in quality. It would remain as it was before. What is there in the assets of Germany to set against the extraordinary productions of our neo-Latin civilization? One thing alone there is that is characteristic in Germanic culture, and that is its political organization, which to us is a puzzle.

How is it possible to reconcile an ultra-modern economic organization with a political organization dating from the Middle Ages? How reconcile a teaching so generalized, a material well-being so highly developed, with a political system which enables one man to declare, "My will is the highest law," or, "I owe my power not to the assent of the German people, but solely to the Divine mission with which I have been intrusted on earth"?

Such are the characteristics of German civilization, of the far-famed Kultur. And, gentlemen, that springs, unhappily, from the manner in which the unity of Germany has been formed.

If this German unity had sprung from the Liberal movement of 1848 a great new nation would have been added to the existing Liberal nations of Europe.

But German unification is the product of Prussian "caporalism," with regard to which a very intelligent Teuton holding a high position remarked to me five or six months ago: "You are right, all you say is true; there is nothing more antipathetic than Prussian 'caporalism,' but it is invincible, and we are forced to accept it just as we accept the Deluge or the locust, just as we accept, in fact, all the ills that Fate may send us."

But, gentlemen, that is not the fact. While M. Diamandy was speaking of the battle of the Marne some one replied that it was just an engagement like any other. To which I retort: It was not a battle, it was a historic moment, it was the proof that even the brute force of "caporalism," in a State in which one man can proclaim that the highest law is his own will, may be vanquished by the armies of a democratic republic wherein abuse of liberty was mistaken by fools for moral decline and loss of virtue.

And if such is the meaning of the war now raging, how can it be supposed that it can end with the customary peace, the sort of peace in which so many gold-laced, decorated plenipotentiaries will discuss a lot of nothings around a green cloth? Can one imagine that it will end like a duel with button-tipped foils, in which the swordsman hit exclaims, "Touche!" and after shaking hands and putting the weapons in their case the two adversaries go off and drink to each other's health!

No, gentlemen, today it is a war of nations rather than a war of armies; the conscience of all the races is awakened; this war must and will go on until one of the two sides shall have been crushed in such a manner that the victor shall be able to impose his rule upon the vanquished. No other peace will be acceptable to the nations.

If Germany is victorious her rule will be the rule of the mailed fist, the reign of a single people chosen by God; if the others win—and they will—the law they will impose will be the law of justice, in order that the whole world may enjoy the benefits of civilization.

Such is the problem. But you will ask me: "What! Is Germany to disap-

pear?" Who can imagine any such thing? It is Austria that might and should vanish away.

Austria ought to have disappeared long ago. When she has vanished from sight a general sigh of relief will be heard; every one will be glad that at last she has paid the price of centuries of wickedness, for you may search the pages of her history through and through and you shall not find that she has done good to any one of any sort, while many and many have been the sufferers from her treachery and her brutality. What would I not give to any one who should point out to me a single good action ever done by this monarchy?

And things being as they are, gentlemen, can you doubt on which side victory will rest? I forget who it was said just now that it was childish to introduce the idea of morality into international politics.

How slight must be his acquaintance with the philosophy of history. Individuals, like peoples, pay the price of the offenses they commit against morality. In the one case punishment follows immediately, in the other case it is delayed, but there would be no order in the universe, life would be without value were it not that we have the conviction of the existence of a moral law above us.

And if, gentlemen, the problem is as I see it, if the events through which we are passing are as I have attempted to describe them, how can one talk of neutrality? Is there a single State throughout the world which will not be affected, which will not be transformed by the results of this war? No, gentlemen, there is not one. But note this difference: There are some States which will suffer from the consequences of the war without power to have their say, because they let their sword rust in its scabbard; others there are which, while suffering no less severely from the effects of the conflict, will at least have a hearing; their utterance will either be that of the conqueror, who decides, or that of the vanquished, who, having done his duty, may rightly claim the respect of the victor.

Jonescu's Later Comment

In the light of the foregoing speech, the following statement by Take Jonescu after Rumania had declared war is of added interest:

Rumania's entry into the war is simply the outcome of the entire history of the Rumanian people. A Latin colony established astride the Carpathians between the Black Sea and the Tisza, the Magyar invasion had separated us into two. In spite of centuries of political separation, the intellectual life of all Rumanians has been one and the same, and in every epoch the national aspiration in the two sides of the Carpathians has been for union and a single independent State.

Never before this war has the principle of nationality, the corollary of national sovereignty—that is to say, the right of every people to live according to its own genius—been declared as the foundation of political right in Europe. This principle was first declared by immortal France, but it has been English statesmen of this present epoch who have given it its definite consecration. So, too, are the British people for this principle. Yet more than any conquest do they value being champions of right and liberty. I know no greater good fortune than to be able to assist in the realization of this national ideal while serving at the same time the cause of civilization and permanent future peace. Such is the case of the Rumanian people at this moment.

For two years I never ceased maintaining that if Rumania had nothing to claim for herself she owed it to her own feeling of dignity and honor to draw the sword on the side of the crusaders for the right. The creation of a great Rumania, which will convert us into a State of 14,000,000 inhabitants, is not only a Rumanian but a European interest. We must put Germany into such a position that she will find it materially impossible to start again that tragedy of armaments à outrance which fatally led to this monstrous war.

We must put between Germany and the Orient, which she covets, States sufficiently strong and representing mili-

tary worth sufficiently great to be able to resist all intrigues and sufficiently distant from the German spirit to be by the nature of things soldiers of civilization against German stupidity. *Magna Rumania* will fulfill these three conditions. With our amazing racial fecundity, we shall have in forty years between Tisza and the Black Sea a State of 25,000,000 inhabitants, and for France, England, Russia, and Italy this will be some recompense for their enormous sacrifices.

The whole nation has received the declaration of war with a satisfaction that is marked with the greatest dignity. Nothing could prove better how necessary and inevitable war was. Our armies have seized all the passes of the Carpathians with extraordinary rapidity, yet that has turned nobody's head, for the Latins of the Danube have a sense of measure and self-command.

You will read in the official com-

muniqués of the fighting on the Dobrudja frontier. There, too, we are defending a cause that is not only our own, but also that of the Allies, and I might say of Europe. In order that the Turk shall be driven from Europe it is necessary, first of all, to subdue Bulgaria, or rather her rulers, who are the real cause of Bulgaria's madness. In my belief it is the duty of Europe not to repeat the mistakes of last Autumn, but to bring to bear upon the Balkan front sufficient forces to solve the Bulgarian problem. In any case, in dealing with a primitive people like the Bulgarians, a display of force is the first requirement.

As for the ultimate victory of the Allies, that has been as clear to me as sunlight for a long time past. Today, more than ever, the possibility of our common victory is definitely guaranteed, not only by our military superiority, but also and in especial degree by our moral strength.

Text of Rumania's Declaration of War

RUMANIA'S reasons for entering the great conflict on the side of the Entente powers were stated in her declaration of war on Austria-Hungary, issued on Aug. 28. Following is the text of that document, which took the form of a note handed to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister to Rumania, at the close of the historic meeting of the Crown Council in Bucharest, where the die was cast for war:

The alliance concluded between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, according to the statements of those Governments, had only a conservative and defensive character. Its principal object was to guarantee the allied countries against attack from the outside and to consolidate the state of affairs created by previous treaties. It was in accordance with these pacific tendencies that Rumania joined this alliance.

Devoted to the development of her internal affairs and faithful to her resolution to remain as an element of order and equilibrium on the lower Danube, Rumania never has ceased in her devotion to the maintenance of peace in the Balkans. The last Balkan wars, by destroying the status quo, imposed upon her a new line of conduct, but her

intervention gave peace and re-established the equilibrium.

For herself she was satisfied with the rectification of her borders which gave her the greatest security against aggression and repaired certain injustices of the Congress of Berlin, but in pursuit of this aim Rumania was disappointed by the failure of the Vienna Cabinet to take the attitude Rumania was entitled to expect.

When the present war broke out Rumania, like Italy, declined to associate herself with the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary, of which she had not been notified by the Vienna Cabinet.

In the Spring of 1915 Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary. The Triple Alliance no longer existed and the reasons which determined Rumania's adherence to this political system disappeared.

Rumania remained in the peace group of States, seeking to work in agreement in order to assure peace and to conserve the situation *de facto* and *de jure* created by treaties. Rumania then found herself in the presence of powers making war for the sole purpose of transforming from top to bottom the old arrangements which had served as a basis for their treaty of alliance. These changes were for Rumania proof that the object she pursued in joining the Triple Alliance no longer could be attained and

that she must direct her efforts in new paths, especially as the work undertaken by Austria-Hungary threatened the interests of Rumania and her national aspirations. Consequently Rumania resumed her liberty of action.

The neutrality which Rumania imposed upon herself in consequence of a declaration of war made independently of her will, and contrary to her interests, had been adopted as the results of the assurances that Austria-Hungary, in declaring war against Serbia, was not inspired by a spirit of conquest or of territorial gains. These assurances have not been realized.

Today we are confronted by a situation de facto threatening great territorial transformations and political changes of a nature constituting a grave menace to the future of Rumania. The work of peace which Rumania attempted to accomplish, in a spirit of faithfulness to the Triple Alliance, thus was rendered barren by the very powers called upon to defend it.

In adhering in 1883 to the group of Central Powers, Rumania was far from forgetting the bonds of blood constituting between them a pledge for her domestic tranquillity, as well as for the improvement of the lot of the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary. In fact, Germany and Italy, who reconstituted their States on the basic principle of nationality, could not but recognize the legitimacy of the foundation upon which their own existence reposed.

As for Austria-Hungary, she found in the

friendly relations established between her and Rumania assurances of tranquillity both in her interior and on our common frontiers, for she was bound to know to what extent the discontent of her Rumanian population found echo among us, threatening our good relations.

For a period of thirty years the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary not only never saw a reform introduced, but, instead, were treated as an inferior race and condemned to suffer the oppression of a foreign element which constitutes only a minority amid the diverse nationalities constituting the Austro-Hungarian States.

All the injustices our brothers thus were made to suffer maintained between our country and the monarchy a continual state of animosity. At the outbreak of the war Austria-Hungary made no effort to ameliorate these conditions. After two years of the war Austria-Hungary showed herself as prompt to sacrifice her peoples as powerless to defend them. The war in which almost the whole of Europe is partaking raises the gravest problems affecting the national development and very existence of the States.

Rumania, from a desire to hasten the end of the conflict and to safeguard her racial interests, sees herself forced to enter into line by the side of those who are able to assure her realization of her national unity. For these reasons Rumania considers herself, from this moment, in a state of war with Austria-Hungary.

Proclamation of the King of Rumania to His People

King Ferdinand issued the following proclamation to his people on Aug. 28:

RUMANIANS! The war which for the last two years has been encircling our frontiers more and more closely has shaken the ancient foundations of Europe to their depths.

It has brought the day which has been awaited for centuries by the national conscience, by the founders of the Rumanian State, by those who united the principalities in the war of independence, by those responsible for the national renaissance. It is the day of the union of all branches of our nation. Today we are able to complete the task of our forefathers and to establish forever that which Michael the Great was

only able to establish for a moment, namely, a Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians.

For us the mountains and plains of Bukowina, where Stephen the Great has slept for centuries. In our moral energy and our valor lie the means of giving him back his birthright of a great and free Rumania from the Tisza to the Black Sea, and to prosper in peace in accordance with our customs and our hopes and dreams.

Rumanians! Animated by the holy duty imposed upon us, and determined to bear manfully all the sacrifices inseparable from an arduous war, we will march into battle with the irresistible élan of a people firmly confident in its

destiny. The glorious fruits of victory shall be our reward.

Forward, with the help of God!

FERDINAND.

To the army the King addressed the following Order of the Day:

Soldiers: I have summoned you to carry your standards beyond the frontier, where our brothers are waiting for you impatiently and with hearts filled with hope. The memory of the Great Voivodes Michael the Brave and Stephen

the Great, whose remains lie in the earth which you are going to set free, call you to victory as men worthy of the victors of Razboeni, Capugareeni, and Paehna. I have summoned you to fight side by side with the men of the great nations to which we are allied. A desperate struggle awaits you. We shall bear these hardships manfully, and with God's help victory will be ours. Show yourselves worthy of the glory of your ancestors. In the centuries to come the whole race will bless you and sing your praises.

The First Use of Asphyxiating Gas

By JOSEPH REINACH

French Journalist and Author

Germany, with all the other powers, signed this declaration of The Hague:

"The contracting parties agree not to use projectiles which have for their sole aim to spread asphyxiating or deleterious gases." The ink was hardly dry on the paper when German chemists received instructions, secret but precise, from the Imperial and Royal Government, while all other peoples, civilized or even half-barbarous, held themselves bound by their word.

The abominable felony, which had been long prepared, was committed for the first time on April 22, 1915, in an attack against the division of General Putz in the neighborhood of Lange-marck, Belgium, a yellow smoke, coming from the German trenches and driven by the north wind, suddenly swept down on our lines. Marshal French's report said:

"The effect of the poisonous vapors was so violent that all action was made impossible over the whole ground occupied by the French division." Hundreds of men fell asphyxiated, writhing in frightful pain. Others, stupefied and staggering, coughing streams of blood, fell back in all haste out of the zone of

the gas; they abandoned thirty cannon. There had not yet been, in all history, so infamous a victory. There shall not be one to cost the victors dearer.

Had the English been the victims, instead of being only the witnesses, of such treachery, they could not have experienced more horror. Necessarily, it released our allies and ourselves—the chemistry of war was created. Several hundred English chemists set to work, coolly, resolutely, patiently. To those who saw them at their work they were the executioners of justice. The German lines, which extend more than sixty miles in Belgium and France, facing the English lines, know now what it costs a people to become the accomplices of a Government of treachery, ferocity, and crime. There is sometimes even human justice. There may be pity for the individual. No one in the world will have pity for the army and nation—for they have chosen to stand and fall with imperial felony. Honor, after their fashion, and profit they may have had from it—but not victory. And they must pay for it. Two hundred dead German soldiers in one row, dead from English gases, tell the rest.

Bulgaria's Part in the European War

By Radoslav Andrea Tsanoff

A Native of Bulgaria, now Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas

Professor Tsanoff is a Ph. D. of Cornell University. Since 1912 he has lectured on the Balkan situation in New York and New England as well as in Texas. The tragic Summer of 1913 he spent in his native land, and in August of that year the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent him on an informal mission to London.

THE European war, if not in its ultimate implications, is at least in its immediate provocation a Balkan conflict—a conflict for Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean dominion. It should not be forgotten that the Serajevo outrage was the initial casus belli, and its inevitable connections with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the road to Saloniki, with the Berlin Congress and the Sick Man of Europe, with the Drang nach Osten politics on the one hand and Peter the Great's "testament" concerning Constantinople on the other, suggest the underlying causes of the present Russo-German conflict, with which the Anglo-German and the Franco-German conflicts are chronologically, but not logically, associated.

In this conflict for the Eastern Mediterranean and for Balkan dominion the century-old enemy of Balkanedom, Turkey, has ranged her arms on the side of the Austro-German alliance. Only the day before yesterday rivers of Balkan blood spilled themselves in a war the avowed object of which was the expulsion of Islam from Europe. Yet Bulgaria is today fighting in league with her oppressor of half a thousand years, the Turk—fighting in opposition to Rus-

sia, which liberated her from the Turk less than forty years ago. Now, even if this course were inexcusably base, still it would demand explanation. Nations do not stoop to ingratitude for no cause whatever. Before praising or condemning Bulgaria's step we must first of all understand its motives. And to this end

a very brief survey of Bulgaria's immediate past is indispensable.

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Bulgarian Nation, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea, and from the Black Sea to the Lake of Ochrid, reaching the climax of a death struggle to shake off the ecclesiastical oppression of the Greek Patriarchate and the political-economic tyranny of the Turk. The first struggle ended successfully with the recognition by the Sultan of a national Bulgarian Church in 1870; the second revolt, for political independence, after claiming thousands of martyrs, led



FERDINAND I.
Czar of Bulgaria

to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 and to the treaty of San Stefano, which reconstituted an independent Bulgaria, including practically the entire Bulgarian folk. But Western Europe feared that an independent Bulgaria would become Russia's pawn in the Balkans, that the Czar would use Bulgaria as his road to the Medi-

terranean instead of the one through Constantinople and the Dardanelles, which had been closed to him after the Crimean War. At the Berlin Congress, accordingly, England, Germany, and Austria dismembered the Bulgar land that had just awakened to freedom after 500 years of bondage. In the end, one section of Bulgaria was given freedom, another was accorded partial autonomy, a third was definitely assigned to Rumania, a fourth to Serbia, while the fifth, comprising Macedonia and Western Thrace, was actually handed back to the Sultan.

In spite of the political obstacles with which she was confronted, however, little Bulgaria made a cultural endeavor which today challenges a parallel. During the quarter century from 1887 to 1912, for instance, she multiplied her railroad mileage almost nine times; her telegraph service trebled; her postal service increased twentyfold; her imports doubled; her exports quadrupled; for every vessel that entered and cleared her ports in 1887 there were thirty in 1912. But her greatest effort was directed in the line of public education. In 1880 Bulgaria was as illiterate as any country could well be. In 1910 one-tenth of her population attended the public schools. The illiteracy of the Bulgarian Army, which was 70 per cent. in 1887, has been so reduced that the younger regiments of Bulgars are less than 10 per cent. illiterate. There are as few Bulgars who cannot read and write in the regiments formed today as there were men who could read and write in the regiments formed thirty-six years ago. The Greek Army is 30 per cent. illiterate, the Rumanian over 64 per cent., and the Serbian population over 11 years of age shows an illiteracy of almost 79 per cent.

Forty-five years ago everything ever printed in the Bulgarian language could have been assembled on one library table. Today Bulgaria has over 350 periodical publications; the world's literature may be read in Bulgarian translations, and several Bulgarian writers have seen their works translated in many European languages. Open the International "Who's Who in Science"

and you will find that Bulgaria contributes as many names as all the other Balkan States put together. In the Balkans Bulgaria has become the home of genuine ethnic and religious tolerance; with a truly representative electoral system; with labor-protection laws such as many States in America cannot yet boast; a country economically solid and democratic, five-sevenths of her sons owning the farms they till. What more could Bulgaria desire?

Only this, and this above all: The liberation of those Bulgars whom the Berlin Congress had handed back to the Sultan. This aim inspired the bloody Macedonian insurrections; it led Bulgaria into the Balkan Alliance and the war of 1912. The history of the Balkan war needs no rehearsal here. Suffice it to recall that Bulgaria found herself confronted by the main Turkish Army, crushed it decisively, drove it back to the very gates of Constantinople, and for half a year held it there in check.

But the victory whereby Bulgaria had liberated the Balkans from Turkdom fanned the old envy of her allies. In refusing to relinquish the "uncontested zone" in Macedonia and to arbitrate about the "contested zone," Serbia broke here treaty of alliance with Bulgaria; Greek cunning conspired with Rumanian cupidity and Turkish rancor to overwhelm Bulgaria and to rob her of almost all the fruits of her war of liberation. By the treaty of Bucharest, August, 1913, Bulgaria lost 1,000,000 Macedonian Bulgars to Serbia and Greece and 286,000 of her prosperous Dobrudja citizens to Rumania. The Fall of 1913 found Bulgaria diplomatically isolated, territorially robbed, and to all appearances crushed into abject helplessness.

Yet such has been the irony of fate that, within one brief twelvemonth after the Bucharest Treaty, Serbia's dream of empire involved her in a conflict threatening her very existence as an independent State. The course of the great war, its military and its diplomatic history, has disclosed several striking developments in the Balkans. It has accentuated with increasing clearness the importance of Bulgaria's position. In a

small way, hers is the same advantage which Germany and Austria enjoy in Europe and which has given them the name of the Central Powers. No Balkan State could make a move without reckoning with Bulgaria. The geographical position which had proved Bulgaria's undoing in 1913, when her neighbors, surrounding her on all sides, succeeded in isolating her, proved a tower of strength to her now that her neighbors either were engaged or planned to be engaged each in a different direction. The policy of Rumania and Greece necessarily depended on that of Bulgaria. Again, Bulgaria, which touches both of the neutral Balkan States, is likewise the only European neighbor of Turkey.

The strongest trump in Germany's hand has been her central position, the fact that she held the inner line, allowing the transference of troops at will from one front to another. In this chain of military coherence, one link was missing. This needed link was Bulgaria. Germany needed the raw resources of Turkey; Turkey needed German guns, ammunition, and equipment. Only through Bulgaria could Berlin communicate with Constantinople overland.

On the other hand, the Entente's greatest source of weakness was the absence of communication between east and west. To remedy precisely this situation the forcing of the Dardanelles was thought imperative. The success of the Dardanelles expedition would have achieved two ends—with one stroke it would have severed Germany from Turkey, and so frustrated the menace to England's dominion over Egypt and India, and also established oversea communication between Russia and her allies. Here again the importance of Bulgaria's position was paramount. With the help of a Bulgarian army striking directly at the Turk, the Anglo-French fiasco in the Dardanelles could easily have been transformed into a triumph; with a benevolently neutral Bulgaria refusing to allow the transportation over her railroads of German ammunition for Turkey, the armies of Enver Pasha would soon have been exhausted, for all ammunition sent by way of Rumanian Constanza was liable to attack by

the Russian Black Sea fleet. With a Bulgaria friendly to Germany, however, the Anglo-French expedition faced a Sisyphean task. Bulgaria held the key which could either unlock the Constantinople gates for the Entente or lock them to Germany. The fact that of all the neutral States Bulgaria alone possessed both a Black Sea coast and an Aegean coast gave her a position of inestimable value and made her sympathies precious beyond belief to both hostile coalitions. One doubts if the most astute of diplomats could have anticipated the gain in power which Bulgaria acquired by securing in 1913 the strip of coast line on the Aegean.

But, once the European war had begun, neither Germany nor the Entente appreciated the importance of Bulgaria's position any better than did the Bulgarian people, Government, and Czar. Ferdinand's manifesto of Oct. 14, 1915, declares: "Exhausted and worn out, but not vanquished, [in 1913,] we had to furl our flags and wait for better days. The better days have come much sooner than we had reason to expect." In the Fall of 1913 Bulgarian emissaries were waiting in cold European anterooms, begging for recognition of the ethnic and political justice of their cause. In the Fall of 1914 emissaries of the European powers were in Sofia, returning Bulgaria's calls.

In modern history there is scarcely an equally dramatic instance of poetic justice. Sofia, the geographic heart of the Balkan peninsula, once more became its political centre of gravity. Once more Bulgaria beheld the possible realization of her national ideal, her one ambition. And this one ambition of all Bulgars was and is: That political Bulgaria become coextensive with ethnic Bulgaria. This means today the restoration to Bulgaria of the Macedonian districts of which Serbia and Greece robbed her, and of the Dobrudja region which Rumania extorted from her at the treaty of Bucharest. Only the at least partial attainment of this national idea could justify the spilling of Bulgarian blood in this war. Bulgaria, accordingly, asked herself this question: Would the liberation of Macedonia and Dobrudja be more likely of attainment if she abandoned her

neutrality than if she remained neutral? And in case she did enter the war, which of the two hostile groups could more sincerely and more reliably assure her of the realization of this national ideal?

It has always been England's policy to crush her most dangerous Continental rival by using for that purpose the allied forces of that power's Continental enemies. A hundred years ago Great Britain used Germany and Russia to crush France. Sixty years ago the Russian Czar became the great danger to civilization, and Britain used Europe's armies to crush Russia. The last few decades have registered sufficient German progress and vitality to make Germany the immediate source of Britain's alarm. It may be that the more astute British statesmen still realize that Russia, their present ally, is their inevitable future enemy, but for this moment Britain is entirely anti-German. She not only seconded Russia's move toward Constantinople, but herself tried to batter open for Russia the Dardanelles gates, as if to scratch out from the British creed that article for which the Light Brigade charged at Balaklava.

On this doubtless fascinating chess-board of war tiny Bulgaria unfortunately appears merely as a pawn, and so it happens that, while for Britain Russia is the distant and Germany the immediate danger, for Bulgaria the case is exactly reversed. Germany's immediate aim is economic dominion over the Near East, and that immediate aim need not preclude—indeed, it may demand—a strong and friendly Bulgaria to guard the German caravan's flank. But Russia's immediate aim is political mastery over Constantinople and the Dardanelles. This means Adrianople and Thrace, and how much more of the Black Sea coast it does or may mean the Bulgar mind finds it very uncomfortable to contemplate.

Thus, realizing with increasing clearness that in the present conflict England had left the destinies of the Balkans in the hands of Russia and that Russia was there the decisive factor, Bulgaria saw that fighting on the side of England meant really fighting for Russia. The

great question for the Bulgars, therefore, early resolved itself into this: Was it to Bulgaria's interest to fight for Russia? And, since Bulgaria's relation to Russia is a deeper relation than one of interest, a second more momentous question arose: Was Bulgaria morally bound to join Russia?

The entire history of modern Bulgaria registers a constant effort on the part of the Bulgarian people to remain grateful and loyal to the great Russian Nation, their liberator, without yielding to the machinations of the Russian Government. The interest which imperial Russia has taken in Bulgaria, however, has always been measured by its expectation of cowering or bringing Bulgaria into ultimate submission. This Russian policy is quite easy to understand if one looks at things from the point of view of Russian imperial expansion. Constantinople and the Dardanelles are Russian ambitions far more properly than even Antwerp is a Germanic ambition, and a Russian expansionist may well shed tears at the way in which Russia's outstretched arm is forever being balked from reaching the high seas—in China, in Persia, in the Near East. But can Bulgaria grieve that the Russian appetite has not yet been satisfied at her expense? Any nation must needs look at a world conflict primarily from the point of view of its own self-preservation, and this is the way in which Bulgaria has looked at this war.

The geographic position of Bulgaria made her naturally a possible bridge of Russian advance on Constantinople; the geographic position of Serbia, on the other hand, made her a wall of protection for Russia against the Austro-German advance on Saloniki. Bulgarian loyalty was thus a necessary part of Russia's plan of "benevolent assimilation"; but Serbian loyalty was essential to the very security of Russia in the Near East. Now the fact that the Serb, toward the end of the century, was courting Viennese favor and was fast becoming Austria's economic vassal, worried imperial Russia. Consequently the Belgrade tragedy of 1903 resulted in an entire change of things Serbian. The Russian Minister at Belgrade replaced

the Austrian as commanding adviser. As Serbia chose to be Russia's tool instead of Austria's, Russia proclaimed this guardian of her own imperialistic interests the guardian of Slavdom's interests in the Balkans. Of necessity Russia's Balkan policy now demanded the subordination of Bulgarian to Serbian interests. The bridge of advance could be neglected, but the wall of defense was carefully kept in repair and fortified.

And then came the Balkan Alliance—a distinct trump card in Russia's hand, for through it Russia expected to acquire diplomatic mastery at Sofia and Athens as well as at Belgrade. Bulgaria's obstinate independence alone blocked the success of this Russian plan. Her whirlwind campaign against the Turk riveted the world's attention on herself. The Balkan Alliance, which Russia had construed as an anti-Austrian coalition and which she regarded as an addition to her own forces, was transformed by Bulgaria's victories into a distinctly Balkan union, friendly perhaps, but certainly not subservient, to Russia. When Bulgaria single-handed inflicted on the Turkish armies at Lule Burgas a defeat more crushing than any the Turk had suffered in all his wars with Russia, the Czar's Government realized that Bulgaria, which had been independent in her weakness, was not likely to become servile when grown strong.

It need not be stated baldly that Russia thereupon ruined the Balkan Alliance. Certainly the great Russian people viewed with genuine sorrow the Serbo-Bulgarian friction. But just as certainly imperial Russia watched Serbia's initial treachery grow and take shape as envy of Bulgaria's victories nourished it, and she tolerated this treachery. Russia watched Serbia repudiate her treaty of alliance with Bulgaria, a treaty which the Russian Czar himself had sanctioned, watched her seize the Bulgar land of Macedonia and terrorize its Bulgar natives, make a new alliance with Greece and Rumania to destroy her Slavic ally, cause the tragic war of 1913, and rob Bulgaria at the Treaty of Bucharest. Were the interests of Slavdom paramount

in the eyes of Russian diplomacy, it should have moved heaven and earth to avert such a Slavonic catastrophe. But in 1913 Russia forgot the Slavic cause, and Slavic Bulgaria was once more dismembered, this time with Russia's consent, if not with Russia's connivance. It was over Russian pontoons that Rumania crossed the Danube to invade Bulgaria in 1913.

Time speedily brought its retribution. Within less than a year Russia and Serbia themselves were fighting a battle of life and death. And then Russia called on Bulgaria, in the sacred name of Slavdom, to fight her enemies, to save her ward Serbia from destruction. But how could Bulgaria be appealed to in the name of Pan Slavism, when this is not a Pan Slavistic war? Russia's own allies oppose the Pan Slavistic idea no less than do her enemies, while millions of Slavs are actually fighting—and fighting willingly—on the Teutonic side. Bulgaria experienced the deepest sorrow at such a Slavic tragedy, but surely neither her Slavic ideals nor her own political interests threw her on Russia's side.

And what ideals or interest could draw her to the help of Serbia? Serbia claimed she was fighting to liberate her kinsmen from the Austrian yoke, yet she herself exercised in Bulgar Macedonia a reign of terror and tyranny such as no Austrian, no Turk, or Russian ever exercised anywhere, as any one may convince himself by reading the "Report of the International Carnegie Commission." For over a year, while Rumania, brought by the logic of events to recognize the folly of her immediate past, was making overtures to Bulgaria for the return of Dobrudja, while even Turkey came to terms with Bulgaria, Serbia, gasping in the throes of death, fought with one hand to "liberate" the Austrian Serbs, while with the other she tortured the Macedonian Bulgars.

From Bulgaria's point of view any talk of moral ideals in this war is futile claptrap. It is part of the campaign of both sides to call themselves champions of liberty and saviors of civilization. Actually this war is a gigantic clash of

the most sordid interests imaginable. In such a conflict of interests, then, Bulgaria also had to seek her own national interests, nor sacrifice them on the altar of passion and impulse. To Britain and France, who spoke of the principle of nationality, Bulgaria recalled the Treaty of Bucharest, the blackest violation of that principle. Russia's pleas for Slavdom Bulgaria answered by offering to forget Russia's crucifixion of Slavdom in 1913, if Russia showed herself ready to vindicate her sincerity in 1915. To maintain her despotism in Macedonia, Serbia was using some 60,000 troops. Bulgaria told the Entente: If you are really fighting for justice and the rights of small nationalities, compel Serbia to restore Macedonia to us. This step would begin the correction of the worst political crime in Europe, the Treaty of Bucharest. It would release 60,000 Serbian troops to be employed where they belong, toward Bosnia and Herzegovina. If you undo now the work of the Treaty of Bucharest, Bulgaria will join your side.

But the Entente either would not or could not compel Serbia to relinquish the Bulgar-inhabited regions of Macedonia. Instead, Serbia kept importuning the Entente to allow her to invade unmobilized Bulgaria. Bulgaria was thus brought to realize clearly that she could expect from the Entente nothing at all commensurate with the sacrifices demanded of her, since the composition of the Entente's powers necessarily called for the support of Serbia's ambitions. The Entente offered Bulgaria, in exchange for her army, a portion of Serb Macedonia—that is, in case Serbia should obtain Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and a few other Austro-Hungarian provinces. To match this Entente proposal Germany offered Bulgaria all of Serb-ruled Macedonia in exchange for Bulgaria's benevolent neutrality; and in case she joined actively the Teutonic cause the Bulgar-inhabited districts in the Timok and Morava valleys, which the Berlin Congress had awarded to the Serb. To join the Entente under such conditions would have been suicidal folly for Bulgaria.

And then, in the Fall of 1915, the

Austro-German drive through Serbia began. That drive was bound to reach Macedonia, which both European coalitions recognized as Bulgarian by right. For Bulgaria to oppose this German drive meant to defend Serbia, the State which had robbed her, without any hope of adequate restitution. To contemplate idly the Teutonic advance would have been a criminal neglect of her own most cherished interests. Yet the Entente sent an ultimatum demanding that she break relations with the Central Powers. Instead she entered the field against Serbia, and thus found herself opposing the Entente.

Has Bulgaria been astute in her choice? Time alone will tell. Needless to say, her belief in Germany's ultimate victory was an important factor in determining her decision. Two brief months in 1915 sufficed for Bulgaria to complete her military task in Serbia. The Anglo-French expedition sent to Saloniki is still where it was the first week of fighting, and late reports made it likely that, after having taken time to sow, reap, and gather her crops, Bulgaria will still be able to anticipate General Sarail's forces and to change the long-prophesied allied offensive into a defensive.

With military prophecies, however, the present writer is not concerned. It is idle to speculate whether Bulgaria will win in the end. Far more important is it to reach a judgment as to whether she deserves to win. Was Bulgaria's decision morally worthy? It was and is motivated by her determination to free once for all her oppressed kinsmen. But in so doing Bulgaria helps Germany's cause? True enough, but if Germany's cause is no better than that of her foes it is hard to see how it is any worse. Between the two hostile coalitions one may make a military choice, as Bulgaria has already done; but a moral choice cannot be made. It seems scarcely necessary to recount here Germany's iniquities, as they have been made abundantly familiar to us all. But perhaps those who still believe that the Entente is fighting for the principle of nationality should remember that in October,

1915, René Viviani pronounced in the French Chamber the Entente's guarantee of the infamous Treaty of Bucharest. And when the case of Belgium is cited it must not be forgotten that for the past twelvemonth the Entente has been making of Greece a second Belgium. That Greece has not made armed opposition nor risked inviting Belgium's fate may be a reflection on Greece's self-respect, but it certainly does not alter the case as far as the Entente is concerned.

In a word, Bulgaria sees in this war the conflict for world-supremacy of two selfish coalitions, and, if she finds herself on the side of the Central Powers, it is not because she hates England and France and Russia, and loves Germany and Austria, but because in this particular situation Germany appears to be both readier and abler to permit small Bulgaria to realize, not her place in the sun—Bulgaria has no such celestial ambitions—but her humble station on our long-suffering Mother Earth.

Bulgaria's Claim on Macedonia

By a Bulgarian Diplomat

THE Bulgarian Prime Minister frankly and openly declared to an American correspondent last Fall, before Bulgaria went into the war, the wishes and aims of Bulgaria. He said that Bulgaria wanted Macedonia, and that whoever gave it to her would have her on his side. The Allies, from fear of offending Serbia, refused to hand over Macedonia to Bulgaria and order Serbia out of it. They only promised to satisfy the Bulgarian demands after the war, due regard being paid to the compensations in territory that Serbia might get from Austria.

The Serbians also pretended to make concessions to Bulgaria, but after the war, and on conditions unacceptable to the Bulgarians. After the sad experience Bulgaria has had with Serbian treaties and promises she is not to blame if she refused to accept any such "wild goose chase." They knew well enough that after the war the Serbians would have played the same trick that they played in the Balkan war, namely, refuse to evacuate Macedonia.

It is not to be supposed that any one of the Allies, after an exhausting war of two, three, or four years, would have been willing to drive them out of Macedonia, but would have proposed a compromise between the two countries. A compromise would have been unfavorable to Bulgaria, for the Serbians being in

possession of the country would have had in their hands the bigger end of the stick. Hence Bulgaria would either have had to submit to what Serbia was willing to cede to it or to fight again for her rights. In the latter case all Europe would have been against her, for every one would have considered her as a disturber of the peace.

Another consideration which influenced the conduct of Bulgaria was, no doubt, the fact that when Germany and Austria decided to invade Serbia and open a way for themselves to Constantinople Bulgaria would have had to oppose them or to allow them a free passage through her territory. In the former case she would have suffered the fate of Belgium, in the latter case she would have incurred the displeasure and enmity of the Allies. The Allies would have been in no position to succor her against an Austro-German drive.

The whole question of how Bulgaria should regulate her conduct between the two warring parties depended upon a satisfactory solution of the Macedonian question. The Bulgarians regard Macedonia as theirs by all the rights which a nation can advance for the possession of a country. These claims are based upon the following considerations:

1. The Christian population of Macedonia up to the Shar Mountains is overwhelmingly Bulgarian. This has been

testified to by all impartial travelers (English, French, Russian, German, &c.) who have visited the country.

2. The people of Macedonia have always called themselves Bulgarians and their sympathies have always been with Bulgaria. There are thousands of them here in the United States and they all openly declare that they are Bulgarians and not Serbians. We have in Bulgaria over 100,000 Macedonians who, during the Turkish régime, fled for refuge into Bulgaria. We have Macedonians as politicians, teachers, merchants, Government functionaries, &c. Over 300 officers in the army are from Macedonia, and some of them rank as Generals and Colonels. In Serbia you will not find even 100 Bulgarians who have taken refuge there, for Serbia for them has always been an alien country.

3. The San Stefano treaty of 1878, concluded between Russia and Turkey after their war, has drawn officially the boundaries of the Bulgarian element in the Balkan Peninsula. That treaty was drawn up by Russia and not by Bulgaria, and it includes almost the whole of Macedonia. The Bulgarians swear by that treaty and demand that the wishes of the late Czar Liberator of Russia should be executed.

4. Serbia never claimed Macedonia before 1892, and it was only in order to compensate herself for the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina that she began

her intrigues and propaganda in Macedonia.

The Berlin treaty of 1878, which supplanted that of San Stefano, provided for Macedonia, as it did for Armenia, some sort of an autonomous government. This provision of the treaty has not been put in practice because, besides the Turks, the Serbians and the Greeks were opposed to autonomy in Macedonia. Why? Because they know perfectly well that under an autonomous administration, under the guarantee of the European powers, where people would be free to express by their votes their opinions, the Bulgarian element will decidedly come to the front, and that everybody will see that Macedonia is a solid Bulgarian country.

The writer of a recent editorial says that Bulgaria "went to war for no reason except the brazenly announced desire for plunder." Is the desire of France to regain Alsace-Lorraine, of Italy to get the Trentino, or of Serbia to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, a "desire for plunder"? Just as much right as these countries have to their respective claims, so much has Bulgaria to Macedonia. In claiming Macedonia, Bulgaria takes her stand upon the principles for which, we are told, the Allies are fighting, namely, the liberty of the small nationalities to dispose of their destiny as they think best, and the right of peoples to say under what Government they choose to live.

Bulgaria's Lost Claim: An Answer

By a Student of History

FOR a correct understanding of the merits of the Serb-Bulgar controversy on the subject of Macedonia and the points raised by "A Bulgarian Diplomat," a brief review of the history of the Balkan Peninsula until the accession of the Turk rule and a glimpse into the principal events that preceded and followed the emancipation of Bulgaria and the Turkish-Balkan war of 1912-13 are necessary.

In the first part of the seventh century

the dwellers of the Balkan Peninsula consisted of the Greeks, Illyrians, whom we now designate as Albanians, and the Rumanians, who are largely settlers drawn from various parts of the Roman Empire upon the conquest by Trajan of Dacia in 105. These historical facts serve to show that the Turks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Montenegrins are ethnologically alien to the Balkan Peninsula. In about 638 a group of Serbs and Croats, whose original home was along the Carpathian

Mountains, were invited by the Emperor to Constantinople, where he arranged to employ them against the Avars. Eventually they settled in the Macedonian district and established a powerful kingdom, (with occasional lapses,) which was utterly destroyed by the Turks in 1389.

In about 660 a nomadic people, originally from the steppes of Asia, in the vicinity of the River Volga, reached the Balkan Peninsula, and settled in Maesia. These Nomads were of the same Ughur or Finnish stock from which the present Turks, the Finns, and the Hungarians sprung.

They were Bulgarians. Here they established a tremendous empire and extorted tribute from the Greeks and Serbs; but they also lost their independence to the Turks in 1389.

With the decline of the Bulgar power in the first part of the eleventh century, the Macedonian district passed successively under the rules of Bonifae, Marquis of Monserrat, Byzantium, and Serbia; and the Turks conquered it from the Serbs in 1389 and held sway over it until 1913. The widespread state of anarchy and massacre that ravaged Bulgaria in 1876-7 was the immediate and driving cause of the war of Russia against Turkey. Czar Alexander, in his famous manifesto, issued on April 23, 1877, declaring war against Turkey, said: "Our desire to ameliorate the lot of the Christian population of Turkey has been shared by the whole nation, which now shows itself ready to bear fresh sacrifices to alleviate the position of the Christians in the Balkan Peninsula." In this war for the liberation of Bulgaria little Serbia fought on the side of Russia. The treaty of Berlin confirmed the provisions of the treaty of San Stefano dealing with Bulgaria, except that it made Bulgaria a tributary principality to the Sultan instead of an independent State, and it also severed Eastern Rumelia from the Bulgaria of the San Stefano treaty and placed it under the political and military rule of the Sultan; it, however, was united to Bulgaria in 1885.

The Turkish misrule in Macedonia, particularly during 1903-8, was retaliated

by bomb and dynamite outrages in which the Greek, Bulgarian, and Serb bands participated, both against the constituted authorities and against one another. It is a matter of history that the Revel program of 1908, agreed upon between the King of England and the Emperor of Austria, was to sever the Macedonian provinces from the domination of Constantinople and make them into an autonomous State. It was at this psychological moment that the Young Turk Party, to thwart the proposed disruption of Macedonia from the Sultan's rule, demanded the restoration of the Constitution of 1876, which Abdul Hamid granted. The Young Turk rule, a most doubtful experiment, brought no relief to a long-suffering people, and its hopeless incompetency was emphasized by the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the overthrow by Bulgaria of the Turk suzerainty, the reaction of 1909, and the Turco-Italian war. These evidences of the collapse of the Young Turk rule, succeeding each other in quick order, furnished Pashitch of Serbia and Venizelos of Greece an excuse to form the Balkan League, whose prime purpose was to liberate the co-religionists and co-nationalists of the contracting parties from the Turk's yoke.

The treaty of the league stipulated for concerted action against a common enemy, but it did not map out the respective territorial shares of the members of the league in the event of the success of the proposed campaign. The treaty also contained the all-important provision that, in the event of any disagreements arising among the members of the league with reference to any subject or point under said treaty, such disputed subject, or point, including division of conquered territory, if any, should be referred to the Czar of Russia, and his finding should be binding upon the appellants.

On Oct. 12, 1912, the Balkan League began a successful war against Turkey. Under the treaty of London of May 30, 1913, Bulgaria acquired all Thrace to the Enos-Media line, together with parts of Macedonia to the west of Bulgaria. Ferdinand of Bulgaria disapproved the arrangement made by Dr. Daneff (his

plenipotentiary at London) and demanded a larger share in Macedonia. This Serbia declined to give, but offered to refer the controverted subject to the Czar, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of the league. Ferdinand indicated his readiness to accept the Serbian offer, provided the Czar would announce or make known in advance the nature of his decision, which was manifestly an unfair and inadmissible attitude. Whereupon Ferdinand took a trip to Vienna in the month of June, 1913, and entered into a treaty with Austria, which treaty provided that Bulgaria would attack Serbia and that in the event of the defeat of Bulgaria, Austria would come to her rescue.

Bulgaria treacherously attacked Serbia and Greece and received deserved severe punishment at the hands of her betrayed partners of yesterday, while simultaneously Rumania threatened Sofia. Bulgaria acknowledged defeat, but Austria was restrained by Germany from entering the Balkan controversy. Consequently, Bulgaria submitted to the treaty of Bucharest, under which her total gain in territory was reduced to

5,000 square miles, whereas Greece acquired 18,700 and Serbia 16,000.

From the foregoing it would appear that Bulgaria has only herself to blame for her unenviable moral and material position, and that Serbia has not been guilty of any bad faith, such as is alleged by the Bulgarian diplomat. The Bulgarian claim of title to Macedonia does not derive its sanction and force from any of the untenable and hypothetical grounds and considerations urged by the Bulgarian diplomat, nor is it founded on any unfulfilled agreement or treaty. As a matter of expediency and fairness, in all probability, Bulgaria should have been given a part of the Serbian Macedonia, because, while Serbia has potential opportunity for expansion northward, Bulgaria can have elbow room only in Macedonia and in Thrace. But in view of the perfidy of Bulgaria, which caused the destruction of a substantial portion of the manhood and womanhood of Serbia, and which prolonged the world war probably by one year, it is difficult to see how Bulgaria can justly expect now to receive any compensation in Macedonia at the expense of Serbia.

A Romantic War Story

The following story of a lost baby Prince is vouched for by a Petrograd correspondent:

Prince Cyril Gedroic is an officer in the Austrian Army, and joined his regiment in August, 1914, leaving his wife and baby at his castle near Brody. During the first great Austrian retreat the Princess fled, and in the general confusion her baby was left behind and lost. A Russian officer found the infant alone in a ditch some miles from Brody. He picked it up and sent it to Russia to be cared for. No one knew the infant was a Prince and heir to huge estates, but Baroness Natalie Ostroff adopted it and took it to her home at Tiflis, in the Caucasus.

Recently the story of the foundling was published in a Russian illustrated paper, with a photo of the child. A Russian prisoner taken by Prince Gedroic's regiment happened to have in his pocket a copy of the particular issue and, by chance, Prince Gedroic was the officer who examined this prisoner. Glancing casually over the paper, the Prince recognized his lost baby.

Diplomatic representations through Sweden ensued, and the little Prince Vladzis Gedroic, aged two, was soon on his way back to Austria under the care of two nurses and a special courier.

Greece—The Neutral With No Friends

By Adamantios Th. Polyzoides

The author of this article, a Greek journalist, has just returned to America after several months' study of the situation in Athens and other Balkan capitals.

GREECE'S position in the European war has been difficult from the outset. The conflict, as every one knows, started from Serbia, and Serbia was up to a certain extent the ally of Greece. But that alliance, it was argued, was strictly Balkanic in its character, had for unique purpose to prevent an undue aggrandizement of Bulgaria at the expense of Serbia and Greece, and never took into account the possibility of a European conflict, which might closely affect the territorial interests of the two allied countries.

At the outbreak of the great war, Greece made this plain to Serbia, and a perfect understanding between the two Premiers, Venizelos for Greece and Pashitch for Serbia, was soon reached. Greece, according to this understanding, was not to send any of her troops against Austria, but would keep an eye on Bulgaria; besides this, Greece also undertook to help Serbia in ways other than military; thus she offered her ally the use of the Port of Saloniki, put her merchant marine at the disposal of Serbia for the transport of any ammunition and supplies needed by the Serbian troops, and finally did everything in her power to facilitate the Serbian struggle.

Central Powers Offended

Now, this is more than any neutral could do without risking his own interests. Germany and Austria had every reason to be dissatisfied with the neutrality of Greece, for it was openly favorable to the Entente, as often declared by the Greek Government, not only when presided over by Venizelos, but even when under the guidance of Gounaris and Zaïmis, who have never been so strongly for the Entente as the statesman from Crete.

Greece, according to the Teuton esti-

mate, has been the backer of the Serbian campaign from the very beginning, when the Allies, hard pressed on other fronts, could do little for their Balkan ally.

Few people will deny today that Greece has done for Serbia what no other neutral, with the possible exception of the United States, has done for the Entente; this was so partly from political considerations and more because of the nation-wide sympathy felt in Greece for a brave friend fighting against the common foe. For thus were Austria and Germany regarded by Greece because they coveted Saloniki, because they aspired to Balkan dominion, and because they had given unqualified support for years past to Turkey and Bulgaria, the two traditional enemies of Hellenism.

German Propaganda

Germany and Austria, never having given a token of sympathy to Hellas, knew what the Greek feelings were toward them at the outbreak of the war. They were perfectly aware that sentiment was entirely with the Allies in this war so far as Greece was concerned, and accordingly they could never look at what happened down there in any other light than one of hostility and contempt.

Nevertheless, in such a conflict as this it was essential for the Teuton coalition not to let Greece side openly and militarily with the Entente; an effort had to be made to swing Greece to the Central Empires, and this was attempted by means of an official propaganda, at the head of which was placed Baron Schenck—some called him Baron Check—official representative of the German Wolff Agency. Greece looked at this propaganda in the same humor as America looked at Dr. Dernburg. Nevertheless, its activities became apparent when a

KING LUDWIG III. OF BAVARIA



Latest Photograph of the King of Bavaria.
(Photo from Press Illustrating Company.)

GENERAL VON SAKHAROFF



Lieut. Gen. V. V. von Sakharoff Is in Command of One of the Russian Armies Now Facing Hindenburg on the Eastern Front.

certain number of Athens newspapers started a campaign against the Allies.

This was soon after the King refused to let the country take part in the expedition of the Dardanelles, and when Venizelos resigned for the first time. From that moment the Entente Allies began looking on Greece with suspicion. The workings of the German propaganda brought about the effect earnestly desired by Teuton diplomacy; Greece remained a neutral—a benevolent neutral toward the Entente, it is true, but nothing more.

Greek People Displeased

Venizelos, the man in whom the Entente had absolute confidence, was not in power when this German propaganda began taking a more serious aspect; Gounaris was openly denounced as being pro-German, King Constantine's name was introduced in the controversy, and Greece for the first time impressed the diplomats of the Allies in Athens as actually swinging to Germany and Austria.

The people, on the other hand, knew one thing—that they were misrepresented, as far as their sympathies were concerned. Therefore they seized the first opportunity presented to them at the general election of June 13, 1915, when they gave Venizelos and the Liberals 180 Deputies in a total of 316. On the strength of this majority Venizelos took charge of the Government, and for some time he was busy allaying the suspicions of the Entente Allies as to the attitude of the Greek people. Things were better up to the day when Bulgaria mobilized her army and subsequently attacked Serbia. Greece immediately ordered a similar measure, and was ready to join in the war as the ally of Serbia, when again this proposal was rejected by the King and the neutralist party, who thought that the Greco-Serbian treaty did not apply to this particular instance; Venizelos fell again, just one year ago, Zaïmis succeeding him.

According to a previous understanding, Zaïmis was to work in Parliament with a Venizelist majority, but a slight inci-

dent one night in the Chamber between Venizelos and the Minister of War brought about the resignation of Zaïmis, and the appointment of the Skouloudis Ministry, wherein all political parties but that of M. Venizelos were represented.

The Allies Suspicious

If the Allies needed any further proof of what they regarded as Greek hostility, the second overthrow of Venizelos, in both instances a majority leader in Parliament, was more than enough for the purpose. Greece immediately was considered a country where allied interests were not safe; added to this feeling was the small allied expeditionary force in Saloniki, which had come there at the bidding of Venizelos, when he, as Premier, thought that Greece was going to attack Bulgaria, and therefore asked the Entente Allies to help the Greek troops with 150,000 men, which, according to the Greco-Serbian treaty, Serbia was bound to give Greece, should the later move against the Bulgars. Now Greece was not going to war, and the Allies had nearly 50,000 of their troops isolated in Macedonia, pursued by the Bulgar and German forces, and viewed with distrust by a mobilized Greek Army of 300,000, which was suspected as being the tool of a pro-German Government.

In these circumstances the Entente ceased to consider Greece a friendly neutral; the occupation of Greek ports, forts, and islands, the embargo on Greek shipping, the search on Greek vessels even when plying in territorial waters, the seizure of Greek mails, including the domestic mail, the forcing of military law on Greek territory, the seizure of the Consular representatives of the Teuton coalition in Greek cities, and finally the blockade of Greek ports, and the upheaval of the Skouloudis Ministry—all these events of recent months are enough to show that Greece paid more dearly for her neutrality than any other nation in Europe.

Some Commercial Abuses

While other neutrals made money out of the European war, Greece, with the exception of her merchant marine, has

been a persistent loser all the way through. A few individuals no doubt made money by exploiting their sympathies for one or the other of the belligerent groups. For instance, one has to be an out and out Venizelist in order to be able to import this or that commodity. The British Legation's Official Commercial Bureau in Athens will not consider any petition which comes from a party known for its anti-Ententist sentiments. This may be all well and good; the merchant who for one reason or another comes out flat-footed against anything the Allies stand for may well be deprived of the facilities afforded by the mistress of the seas to her friends and supporters, irrespective of what international law and The Hague Conventions say. But the system as applied in Greece has opened the gate for many abuses; Ententist sentiment has been so closely connected with the Liberal Party that none but the Venizelist is considered a Simon Pure friend of the Allies.

It is here, then, that the abuse comes in; Venizelos cannot take charge of the commercial interests of his political friends; he is too busy a man for that; he therefore allows the Liberal Club to attend to that end of his political game. This Liberal Club is in a way a miniature Tammany Hall, and its sole purpose is to afford every facility to the friends of the party who need political help in their different transactions with Government offices; in the case of foreign imports into Greece, the British Legation as a rule is satisfied with any importer shown to be in good standing with the Liberal Club, as that is taken to mean that the man is a Venizelist, and therefore an ardent supporter of the Entente.

A Favored Trade Faction

One can imagine what happens between the various competing merchants, who may be stationed in the opposed political camps. Naturally, the one plays the other on the score of political sentiment; Venizelist fights anti-Venizelist in the struggle for the much needed permit to bring imports into Greece, and as it happens always on such occasions, the

ultimate consumer pays the penalty for a system which gives one set of people all the chance to get rich, while it deprives the other of the very means of livelihood. Commercial freedom once abolished, the country pays highest prices for everything that comes from abroad, and this means almost every commodity, as Greece produces little in the way of foodstuffs, clothing, coal, or machinery.

In the case of Holland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and Rumania, there was the alternative of getting from Central Europe what Britain and her allies, or America, could not supply; such an alternative did not exist in Greece. Therefore, her difficult position. With a merchant marine envied by countries much larger and wealthier than herself, Greece in many instances suffered the trials of Tantalus, and found, much to her surprise, that in this world war she was the only European country without friends. Of course her neutrality is to blame for this; she came out on the first day of the war as a neutral benevolent to the Entente, and thus lost every chance of friendly consideration from the Teutons; she objected to fighting in the Dardanelles and in Macedonia with the Allies, and discovered that her benevolent neutrality was a bad substitute for active co-operation with the Entente.

The only way open to Greece since Rumania's move is to enter the war in order to win her previous position in the favor of the Allies. A national necessity makes it imperative for her to attack the Bulgar and his allies. At this writing, therefore, the world is daily expecting the news that Hellas has declared war upon the Central Powers.

Popularity of Venizelos

What Venizelos did in the five years he served as Prime Minister of Greece has made him the most popular of all political leaders that country ever had. Faith in what he thinks, in what he says, and in what he proposes is so great with a large class of the people that it can only be compared to a child's faith in his father's thoughts and actions. For this

reason you will meet in and out of the realm an astonishingly large number of Greeks who say, when asked for their political views and opinions:

"I am for Venizelos simply and entirely; I do not want to discuss his program; I do not want to think that he may be mistaken; I am for him, no matter what he thinks, what he says, or what he expects to do."

When speaking with such Greeks you immediately realize that no force of argument will shake them; moreover, they refuse to listen to any argument contrary to the opinion they have formed of their leader, and that is the end of it.

Venizelos knows this. He knows also that the Liberal Party, which he formed on his arrival from Crete six years ago, is more than a political group; Liberalism and Venizelism have something of the religious element in them. For the equivalent of this movement one has to come here to America, and learn what the Progressive Party stood for at its first appearance four years ago.

The Cretan statesman, backed by the entire Greek people, condemned and attacked what he termed the "*favlokratia*" or the "rule of the incompetent," which had made Greece the plaything of politicians and the least considered factor in the Balkan situation. Venizelos sprang into the political life of Greece as the outcome of a revolution and was quick enough to seize the opportunity to put the country on its feet. Following on the steps of this movement came the two Balkan wars, with the subsequent Greek successes. The results of those memorable victories left a profound impression on the Greek people. Greece, considered a decadent nation even by her friends, had shown her ability to live and go forward to a brilliant destiny; a new faith in the country's moral as well as material resources took the place of the enthusiasms of the past, and the whole nation was reborn after 1913.

His Labors for Greece

Venizelos now tackled the problem of extensive internal reforms, tending mainly to a consolidation of the new position of Greece in the Balkans and in Europe generally. To this end, peace, and a

rather long peace, was necessary, and Venizelos prayed and worked for it. It was thus that he tried to revive the Balkan league, with the help of Serbia, Rumania, and even Bulgaria, notwithstanding the fresh memories of the second Balkan war. While Turkey was bent on a campaign of extermination against the Greek populations of the empire, the Cretan statesman busied himself in finding some way whereby the Greco-Turkish differences could be settled without a new war, although he was preparing for such an emergency through the purchase from America of the battleships Mississippi and Idaho, since renamed Lemnos and Kilkis.

All these efforts were reduced to nought by the outbreak of the European war; a new situation was thereby created, and new possibilities began to face Greece. Hope for the maintenance of Balkan peace vanished when Turkey entered the conflict. What, then, was Greece to do? Venizelos took it for granted that Turkey could not survive her war against Russia, Great Britain, and France; he looked to the dismemberment of the Osmanli Empire as the only logical and inevitable conclusion of the European conflict in the Near East, and only thought of the means by which Greece might help the Allies in the accomplishment of their task in that part of the world. This had been his program in the beginning of the great war, and this is his program today. It is true that many events have happened to change the original aspect of Greece's intervention in the war, but for Venizelos the outstanding fact lies in his belief that, come what may, Hellenic interests can never be anywhere but at the side of those of the Entente.

Greece's Natural Enemies

The average Greek knows this; no matter where his political affiliations lie, he knows that Greece cannot put her fate in the same balance with Turkey, Bulgaria, Austria, and Germany. Turkey for one has always been in the way of everything Greek; Bulgaria has never ceased to be another Turkey in a modified form; Austria and Germany have always been the friends and protectors of Turkey to

the detriment of the most sacred interests of Hellenism. Austria helped delay Greek independence from 1821 to 1827 by continually assisting Turkey; Germany reorganized the Turkish Army, which dealt to Greece the cruel blow of 1897; furthermore, the German and Austrian commercial agent was the only competitor of the wideawake Greek in the Balkan peninsula from the Danube down, and all over Asia Minor.

These facts are so well known in Greece that you cannot even discuss them, because you will find no one to have a contrary opinion. It has been said that an educated class in Greece favors Germany; nothing could be more inexact than this argument. It is true that a large number of Greeks who studied in the German universities and technical colleges have acquired a thorough knowledge of German methods and ambitions; but, curiously enough, the Greeks who know Germany better are those who fear more her preponderance in the Balkans; they know that a German victory in the Greek peninsula will forever seal the doom of Greece.

The King's Position

Venizelos, for one, declared after the beginning of the European war that Greece ought to fight immediately on the side of the Entente. Had King George been on the throne, Greece would have been in the game long ago; but Constantine had other notions regarding his constitutional duties and responsibilities; he considered the whole matter in the light of a

proposition, not only political but military; he weighed the Venizelos arguments on one side and the military considerations on the other and found the former wanting; he gathered about himself in his quality of Generalissimo of the Greek Armies his General Staff, and took counsel with them, and the result was that all of them agreed that Greece's participation in the war, both in March and in October, 1915, would have resulted in the catastrophe that overwhelmed both Belgium and Serbia.

The men who expressed this opinion were the leaders of two victorious campaigns; no one would have doubted their ability in technical matters or their patriotism. The soldiers who fought and won under those leaders, and who are the Greek people itself in its best expression; the men who saw their King and their officers in battle and who knew how deep was their love for the mother country, never for a moment thought that any of them could turn traitor to the Hellenic cause.

No one can assume that Venizelos is a patriot and that the King is not; no one can place absolute faith in the political ability of Venizelos and deny a military ability to the King and the officers of the Greek General Staff.

Now the guns are roaring this side of the Hellenic frontier, while French, British, Serbian, Italian, and Russian troops face the Bulgar-Teuton coalition, and Rumanian armies are fighting in Transylvania. The hour of Greece struck: when Rumania intervened in behalf of the Allies.

A Mathematical War Jest

Jugend, the German comic weekly, has a curious little jape headed, "How long is the war going to last?" The question, it says, is the one topic of conversation everywhere. It gives the answer, working it out thus:

"Seventeen French villages have been won back by the English in the course of a week; nevertheless, 2,554 remain yet to be taken. A 150th part of the work of victory has thus been done. It will, therefore, be no less than two years eleven months and two weeks before France is freed of the last Boche.

"But this is by no means the only war aim of the Allies; Germany herself must be beaten and smashed down. Now Germany has, according to the last census, (excluding the towns of over 100,000 inhabitants,) 5,328 communes, so that for their capture it would take six years one week and six days. The war must, therefore, be reckoned as taking eight years eleven months and six days from the beginning of the British offensive to the end, i. e., when the peace negotiations begin."

The Moslem Revolt in Arabia

Proclamation by the Sherif of Mecca

AMONG the far-reaching effects of the European war must be included the schism in the Moslem world caused by Turkey's joining the Central Powers. The Grand Sherif of Mecca, Chief Magistrate of the holy city of the Mohammedans, announced his independence of Ottoman rule last June, and, supported by Arab tribes, captured the Turkish garrisons of Mecca and several other cities, proclaiming a definite rupture between orthodox Mohammedans and those represented by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is now in power in Turkey.

The Grand Sherif, who holds the holy places of Islam, and who is thus the present ecclesiastical master of the situation, has issued a long proclamation denouncing the Young Turk leaders of the Ottoman Empire, notably Djemal Pasha, Enver Pasha, and Talaat Bey, all staunch supporters of Germany and among the most powerful figures in Turkey. Enver Pasha is generally credited with the chief responsibility for Turkey's joining the Central Powers. Djemal Pasha is commander of the Turkish forces in Syria and is reported to have adopted severe measures to suppress the Arab revolt.

Following is the full text of the proclamation of the Grand Sherif of Mecca. If Arabia should continue to replace Turkey as the ruling power of the Mohammedan world, this will be a document of historic importance:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

This is our General Circular to all our Brother Moslems.

("O Lord, do Thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for Thou art the best Judge.")

It is well known that of all the Moslem rulers and Emirs, the Emirs of Mecca, the Favored City, were the first to recognize the Turkish Government. This they did in order to unite Moslem opinion and firmly establish their community, knowing that the great Ottoman Sultans (may the dust of their tombs be blessed, and may Paradise be their abode) were acting in accordance with the

Book of God and the Sunna of his Prophet, (prayers be upon him,) and were zealous to enforce the ordinances of both these authorities. With this noble end in view the Emirs before mentioned observe those ordinances unceasingly. I myself, protecting the honor of the State, caused Arabs to rise against their fellow-Arabs in the year 1327, in order to raise the siege of Abha, and in the following year a similar movement was carried out under the leadership of one of my sons, as is well known.

The Emirs continued to support the Ottoman Empire until the Society of Union and Progress appeared in the State and proceeded to take over the administration thereof and all its affairs, with the result that the State suffered a loss of territory which quite destroyed its prestige, as the whole world knows; was plunged into the horrors of this war, and brought to its present perilous position, as is patent to all.

This was all done for certain well-known ends, which our feelings forbid us to dilate upon. They cause Moslem hearts to ache with grief for the Empire of Islam, for the destruction of the remaining inhabitants of her provinces—Moslem as well as non-Moslem—some of them hanged or otherwise done to death, others driven into exile. Add to this the losses they have sustained through the war in their persons and property, the latter especially in the Holy Land, as is briefly demonstrated by the fact that in that quarter the general stress compelled even the middle-classes to sell the doors of their houses, their cupboards, and the wood from their ceilings, after selling all their belongings to keep life in their bodies.

Maligining the Prophet

All this evidently did not fulfill the designs of the Society of Union and Progress. They proceeded next to sever the essential bond between the Ottoman Sultanate and the whole Moslem community, to wit, adherence to the Koran and the Sunna. One of the Constantinople newspapers, called *Al-Ijtihad*, actually published an article maligning (God forgive us!) the life of the Prophet, (on whom be the prayer and peace of God,) and this under the eye of the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire and its Sheikh of Islam and all the Ulema, Ministers and nobles. It adds to this impiety by denying the Word of God, "The male shall receive two portions," and decides that they shall share equally under the law of inheritance. Then it proceeds to the crowning atrocity of destroying one of the five vital precepts of Islam, the Fast of Ramadan, ordering that troops stationed in Medina, Mecca, or Damascus may break the fast in the same way

as troops fighting on the Russian frontier, thereby falsifying the clear Koranic injunction, "Those of you who are sick or on a journey." It has put forth other innovations touching the fundamental laws of Islam (of which the penalties for infringement are well known) after destroying the Sultan's power, robbing him even of the right to choose the chief of his imperial Cabinet or the Private Minister of his august person, and breaking the Constitution of the Caliphate of which Moslems demand the observance.

In spite of all, we accepted these innovations in order to give no cause for dissension and schism. But at last the veil was removed, and it became apparent that the empire was in the hands of Enver Pasha, Jemal Pasha, and Talaat Bey, who were administering it just as they liked, and treating it according to their own sweet will. The most striking proof of this is the notice lately sent to the Kadi of the Tribunal at Mecca, to the effect that he must deliver judgment solely on evidence written down in his presence in court, and must not consider any evidence written down by Moslems among themselves, thus ignoring the verse in the *Surat-al-Baqara*.

Murder and Profanation

Another proof is that they caused to be hanged at one time twenty-one eminent and cultured Moslems and Arabs of distinction in addition to those they previously put to death—the Emir Omar el-Jazairi, the Emir Arif esh-Shibaba, Shefik Bey el-Moayyad, Shukri Bey el-Asali, Abd el-Wahhab, Taufik Bey el-Basat, Abd el-Hamid el-Zahrawi, Abd el-Ghani el-Arisi, and their companions, who are well-known men. Cruel-hearted men could not easily bring themselves to destroy so many lives at one blow, even if they were as beasts of the field. We might hear their excuse and grant them pardon for killing those worthy men; but how can we excuse them for banishing under such pitiful and heart-breaking circumstances the families of their victims—infants, delicate women, and aged men—and inflicting on them other forms of suffering in addition to the agonies they had already endured in the death of those who were the support of their homes?

God says, "No burdened soul shall bear the burden of another." Even if we could let all this pass, how is it possible we can forgive them confiscating the property and money of those people after bereaving them of their dear ones? Try to suppose we closed our eyes to this also, feeling that they might have some excuse on their side; could we ever forgive them desecrating the grave of that pious, zealous, and godly man the Sherif Abd el-Kadir el-Jazairi el-Hasani?

Shelling the Temple

The above is a brief account of their doings, and we leave humanity at large, and Moslems in particular, to give their verdict. We have sufficient proof of how they regard the re-

ligion and the Arab people in the fact that they shelled the Ancient House, the temple of the Divine Unity, of which it is said in the Word of God, "Purify My house for those that pass round it," the Kibla of Mohammedans, the Kaaba of believers in the Unity, firing two shells at it from their big guns when the country rose to demand its independence. One fell about a yard and a half above the Black Stone and the other three yards from it. The covering of the Kaaba was set in a blaze. Thousands of Moslems rushed up, with shouts of alarm and despair, to extinguish the flames. To reach the fire they were compelled to open the door of the building and climb on to the roof. The enemy fired a third shell at the Makam Ibrahim, in addition to the projectiles and bullets aimed at the rest of the building. Every day three or four people in the building itself were killed, and at last it became difficult for the Moslems to approach the Kaaba at all.

We leave the whole Mohammedan world from East to West to pass judgment on this contempt and profanation of the Sacred House. But we are determined not to leave our religious and national rights as a plaything in the hands of the Union and Progress Party. God (blessed and exalted be He) has vouchsafed the land an opportunity to rise in revolt, has enabled her by His power and might to seize her independence and crown her efforts with prosperity and victory, even after she was crushed by the maladministration of the Turkish civil and military officials. She stands quite apart and distinct from countries that still groan under the yoke of the Union and Progress Government. She is independent in the fullest sense of the word, freed from the rule of strangers and purged of every foreign influence. Her principles are to defend the faith of Islam, to elevate the Moslem people, to found their conduct on the holy law, to build up the code of justice on the same foundation in harmony with the principles of religion, to practice its ceremonies in accordance with modern progress, to make a genuine revolution by sparing no pains in spreading education among all classes according to their station and their needs.

This is the policy we have undertaken in order to fulfill our religious duty, trusting that all our brother Moslems in the East and West will pursue the same in fulfillment of their duty to us, and so strengthen the bands of the Islamic brotherhood.

We raise our hands humbly to the Lord of Lords for the sake of the Prophet of the all-bountiful King that we may be granted success and guidance in whatsoever is for the good of Islam and the Moslems. We rely upon Almighty God, who is our sufficiency and the best defender.—The Sherif and Emir of Mecca.

EL HUSEIN IBN ALI,
25th Sha'ban, 1334, (June 27, 1916.)

Does Russia Mean to Keep Her Promises to Poland?

By Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy

Eminent Russian Publicist

[Translated from the *Russkoye Slovo* of Moscow for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

AT the beginning of the war our public attention was entirely absorbed by the question of the war's significance and its idealistic aims, and we gave little thought to the resources required for its prosecution. We put too much faith in some one whose duty it should have been to take care of that. Later, when that some one proved himself unfit for the position he occupied, when the resources provided by him proved inadequate, the attention of the entire public was directed toward the creation of those resources, and we may now look back on the stretch of road behind us with a feeling of profound satisfaction. The victories of Brusiloff's armies are indubitably also the victories of the Russian people. Without that great upheaval of social forces which occurred in our midst these victories would have been impossible.

Thanks to our successes the question of the war's aims, which seemed to have retreated into the background at the time of our defeats, is again forging to the front. The danger of the collapse of our campaign or the loss of Russian territory, to all appearances, no longer exists. But there is a worse danger facing us—that of losing the spiritual motive of the present war. Nor is it the lesser danger because it lurks within and does not appear upon the surface of events.

Do we recall the feelings with which we approached Lemberg for the first time? That was a bright, spiritual exultation due to a great patriotic and liberative war. We fought not only for the safety of Russia, but for the salvation of other nationalities as well. Russia seemed to us surrounded by the brilliant halo of a liberator. We went forth with the conviction that her defeat would

mean the inevitable enslavement of the European nations and her victory their political renaissance.

Is it necessary to speak of those bitter disenchantments which soon followed? They did not result from our military defeats, they occurred much earlier, immediately after our first victories. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon their causes, for these are universally known. They became possible, first of all, through the construction put on the aims of the war by others than ourselves, by men who failed to rise to the heights of the situation. Hence the attempts to reduce to nil the manifesto of the Grand Duke. Should these efforts be repeated and prove successful, the moral meaning of the great war would thereby be lost, and that loss would create for Russia new dangers.

Our victories bring us again to face a series of important national problems. I will not speak of how they were solved before; but I think it necessary to point out a solution which appears to be the only just and expedient solution.

Our advances in Galicia make imperative some kind of an immediate disposal of the Ruthenian problem. On our attitude toward that problem depends the durability of our conquests in Galicia. In the interests of Russia's greatness it is necessary that we acquire in the persons of the Galicians friends and not enemies, so that their union with Russia may become a blessing, not only for Russia but for Galicia as well. What must we do to achieve such results?

Obviously, we must guarantee the population of the conquered territory full inviolability of their centuries-old order and mode of life and religion, all this independently of whether we regard the Galicians as Russians or as foreign-

ers. If they are Russians, then we must regard their national characteristics with still deeper respect. In that case their native tongue should be considered Russian, their culture Russian, and these should be carefully preserved as valuable variations of our own.

Our militant nationalists judge exactly to the contrary. From their point of view the Ruthenians, if they are Russians, must not study in their native tongue nor profess the faith of their fathers. The same Russian nationalists who, to some degree, recognize the rights of the Poles to an independent national culture, deny such rights to the Ruthenians on the ground that they are Russians. There is a crying paradox in such an attitude toward the Ruthenians. It is indeed absurd, after recognizing them as part of our own nationality, to proceed, on that ground, to find in their dialect and customs the expression of a foreign and hostile national spirit.

It is not difficult to imagine what fruit this paradox may bear in practical politics. If the Russian conquest is to result in the cessation of study in the Ruthenian schools, if it is to become a menace to their very existence, we shall acquire an enemy in every Ruthenian pupil, and in his parents. Even our sympathizers in Galicia will receive the impression that Russian rule means for them not a union with Russia but a heavy foreign yoke. No anti-Russian propaganda can cause us greater harm than a policy in regard to education and religion that would inspire in Galicians the thought that for the guarantee of their religion they must look to Austria, not Russia. If a policy of Russianization is odious as applied to foreigners, then as applied to "Russians" it is also absurd.

The Galicians must be convinced that Russia's aim in Galicia is not to destroy but to protect their national institutions. The official Russian language should be introduced in their schools as a new modern subject only. The dominant language should remain Ruthenian. If we make it our goal to bring about a complete union between Russians and Galicians, we must imbue them with the

conviction from the very beginning that to become Russian does not mean giving up their religious rites and national customs, but preserving them.

Along with the Galician-Ruthenian question there also appears again the Polish question. * * * We already know from the newspapers that the Government intends to confirm the promises made to the Poles in the manifesto of the Commander in Chief and in the renowned declaration of Premier Goremykin. Both Russians and Poles are impatiently awaiting the appearance of the new announcement by the Government. But it is not sufficient to make new promises, they must be made in such a manner as to inspire confidence. And for this purpose it is necessary, first of all, that there be no difference between words and acts.

Both Russians and Poles understand but too well that the Commander in Chief's manifesto was at root contradictory to the old methods of Russia's administration of Poland. If there be given no solemn proof that the manifesto means the abolition of those methods, its moral effect will be equal to zero. Everybody remembers the celebrated orders of Minister N. A. Maklakoff and the circulars of Taube, [Russian Governor of Poland.] They were interpreted as meaning that the Russian civil administration did not hold itself bound by the manifesto of the Commander in Chief, only aiming to turn it into a dead document.

The most rigid of measures will be required to prevent the repetition of such acts. If the Russian Government is really resolved to grant Poland an autonomous government it should from the very beginning change the personality of the administration in Poland. The return of the former administrators, who have by their acts broken or nullified the pledges made in the manifesto, is now morally impossible, especially after the reforms inaugurated in Poland by the Germans. If we want to prove by deeds that we intend to give Poland more, and not less, than Germany gave her, we should appoint instead of Russians men of Polish extraction to the

administrative posts in Poland. Such a step follows logically from the idea of an autonomous Poland. By both Russians and Poles it would naturally be regarded as the touchstone of our sincerity.

If we actually desire to free Poland, and not to replace the German yoke with a still heavier Russian one, we must commence as I have indicated. In order that the Russian Army be met joyfully in Poland, it is necessary that its return shall not signify the return of the former

administrative Russianizers with German names. We must show that these Russianization traditions have once for all been dropped into the past. We must do this not for the sake of Poland, but for the sake of Russia herself.

To complete our victory over Germany we must not allow her to tear out of our hands the banner of liberation. We must show by deeds to the Poles and the entire world that Poland can receive real national freedom from Russia alone.

Canada and the War

By Spencer Brodney

ALTHOUGH the only self-governing people of the British Empire which had a hand in the making of the war was that inhabiting the United Kingdom, the "dominions beyond the seas,"—the autonomous communities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland—were just as much involved as if their respective Governments had themselves declared war. One must realize this fact to appreciate what the British Empire means—the most loosely bound together of all empires, and yet, as the war has so vividly illustrated, extraordinarily cohesive when its unity is threatened. All the self-governing dominions—it is now regarded as contemptuous to call them "colonies"—have each and all gone to the assistance of the mother country of their own free will, without so much as a word of exhortation from the Government in London. But for common allegiance to the Crown, the dominions might be regarded more truly as allies, thus swelling the long list of those against whom the Central Empires are fighting.

Of Britain's allies within her own empire, on which we are proudly told the sun never sets, two—Canada and Australia—vie for first place in the extent of the aid they have rendered and continue to render. For the moment we are concerned with Canada's contribu-

tion, which consists not only in men, but also in that mobilization of resources which equips the fighting man, provides him with the lethal weapons of his trade, and finances the whole business of warfare.

Take, first, the number of men who have volunteered for active service. The latest available recruiting figures show that by the 1st of September, 1916, 361,693 men had been enrolled. Of this number a certain proportion is in the preliminary training stage in Canada, where, incidentally, one of the training camps, namely, Camp Borden, in the Province of Ontario, has up to date cost \$1,000,000 to build and equip. After their local training the Canadian troops go to England, where their course of instruction is completed by being assimilated to the methods and discipline of the British Army. The numbers at present in training in Canada and England, respectively, are suppressed by the military censorship, so that it is impossible to tell how many have actually gone to the front.

A hint that the Canadian soldier is the real thing according to English ideas may be gathered from the reports of a recent review held by Lloyd George, the first in his capacity of successor to Lord Kitchener as head of the War Office. This was an inspection of a Canadian division of between 15,000 and 16,000 men. They were in full service

uniform, and included volunteers from all parts of the Dominion. Everything was in perfect campaigning order, down to the field kitchens, from which savory odors were wafted as the procession passed the saluting base. Lloyd George, in his speech to General Sir Sam Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia; Major Gen. Dave Watson, who is in command of the division, and the officers and men, was at his most eloquent in expressing admiration of the men and in recalling the prowess of their fellow-Canadians who at the second battle of Ypres saved Calais: "Just as the Rocky Mountains hurl back the storms of the West, so did these heroes in the battle of Ypres break the hurricane of the German fury. Amid the flames and poisonous fumes of Gehenna they held high the honor of Canada and saved the British Army."

At the beginning of 1916 the Prime Minister of Canada pledged the Dominion to raise its contribution in men to 500,000. But eight months after this announcement more than 138,000 were still required to make good the promise. On this score grievous disappointment is being felt among patriotic British Canadians, who point out that for the whole month of July only 8,552 recruits were enrolled, while for August the number dropped to 7,246. If enlistment proceeds at the same pace, it will take a year and a half for Canada to raise her half million of men, and by then the war might be over.

The causes of this slump in recruiting are twofold. In the first place, a young country in which the needs of industrial development are urgent, and which for that reason has constantly to augment its population by subsidized immigration, can ill afford to lose a single man. While the God of War is demanding more and still more victims in the trenches, the manufacturers of munitions, the farmers, and the railways are clamoring for supplies of labor. This difficulty has recently led to important conferences between the Government and representatives of the employers and of the labor organizations. In the hope of finding a method of maintaining productivity and

at the same time providing men for the firing line, the suggestion has been made to adopt on a wholesale scale the solution arrived at in Great Britain, namely, the replacement of men as far as possible by female labor. But this solution is not so easy in Canada, which, unlike the mother country, has no large surplus of women.

The other causes of the slackening of enlistment are to be found in the attitude of the French Canadians, which has led to a certain amount of recrimination on the traditional nationalistic lines. The figures show that if the population east of the Ottawa River had yielded proportionately as many recruits as the rest of Canada the promised half million would by now have been almost reached. Instead, Quebec, the French-speaking province, has contributed only about one-fourth of what would in other circumstances be its quota. An outsider might wonder, even if French Canadians still cherish their old feelings against the English-speaking population, why, seeing that France is Britain's ally, they nevertheless hold back. An answer to this question is supplied by Henri Bourassa, who is a grandson of Papineau, the famous rebel leader, and who is the mouthpiece of French-Canadian sentiment. In an article published in the French Canadian journal, *Le Devoir*, which has recently excited a vigorous controversy, Mr. Bourassa says in part:

The number of recruits for the European war in the various Provinces of Canada and from each component element of the population is in reverse ratio to attachment to the soil and to the traditional patriotism arising therefrom. The newcomers from the British Isles have enlisted in much larger proportions than English-speaking Canadians, born in this country, while these have enlisted more than the French Canadians. The Western Provinces have given more recruits than Ontario, and Ontario more than Quebec. In each Province the floating population of the cities, the students, the laborers, and the clerks, either unemployed or threatened with dismissal, have supplied more soldiers than the farmers.

Does this mean that the city dwellers are more patriotic than the country people, or that the newcomers from England are better Canadians than their fellow-citizens of British origin born in Canada? No, it simply means that in Canada, as in every

other country at all times, the citizens of oldest origin are the least disposed to be stampeded into distant ventures of no direct concern to their native land. It proves also that military service is more repugnant to the rural than to the urban population.

There is among French Canadians a larger proportion of farmers and fathers of large families than among any other ethnical element in Canada. Above all, the French Canadians are the only group exclusively Canadian both collectively and individually. They look upon the perturbations of Europe, even those of England or France, as foreign events. Their sympathies naturally go to France against Germany, but they do not think they have an obligation to fight for France any more than the French of Europe would hold themselves bound to fight for Canada against the United States or Japan or even against Germany in case Germany should attack Canada without threatening France.

English Canada contains a considerable proportion of people still in the first stage of national incubation. Under the sway of imperialism a fair number have not yet decided whether their allegiance is to Canada or to the empire, whether the United Kingdom or the Canadian Confederacy is their country. The newcomers are not Canadian in any sense. England or Scotland is their sole fatherland. They have enlisted for the European war as naturally as Canadians, French, or English would take up arms to defend Canada against an aggression on the American Continent.

Thus it is rigorously correct to say that recruiting has gone in inverse ratio to the development of Canadian patriotism. If English-speaking Canadians have a right to blame French Canadians for the small number of their recruits, the newcomers from the United Kingdom, who have supplied a much larger proportion of recruits than any other element of the population, would be equally justified in branding the Anglo-Canadians with disloyalty and treason. Enlistment for the European war is supposed to be absolutely free and voluntary. If that statement is honest and sincere, all provocations from one part of the population against the other and exclusive attacks against the French Canadians should cease. Instead of unjustly reviling one-third of the Canadian people—a population so remarkably characterized by its constant loyalty to national institutions—those men who claim the right to enlighten and lead public opinion should have enough good faith and intelligence to see facts as they are and respect the motives of those who persist in their determination to remain more Canadian than English or French.

In reply to Mr. Bourassa, British Canadians assert that the war is not a "foreign event" even from the French-

Canadian standpoint, because their liberties and privileges, equally with those of all citizens of the Dominion, as well as those of their motherland, France, are at stake on the battlefields of Europe. It is also alleged by Mr. Bourassa's critics that because of distrust of the France that harried the Catholic Church the French-Canadian priests have thrown the weight of their influence into the scales against any effort to help France. On the other hand, however, should be set down Cardinal Begin's instruction issued a few weeks ago to the Catholic clergy of Quebec to help recruiting. Whatever the merits of this controversy may be, it is recognized on all sides that the attitude of the French Canadians makes it impossible for the Dominion Parliament to enact a compulsory service law, as has been done by New Zealand, following the example of the mother country, and as Australia proposes to do by national referendum.

Despite the difficulties of sending to Europe as large an army as desired, Canada is proud of her contribution of over 360,000 men to date. Still more is she proud of her newly discovered capacity to help in the provision of munitions and the equipment and maintenance of her representatives at the front. When the war broke out Canada had as little idea of supplying shells and other military requirements as the proverbial pig has of flying. But today 3,000,000 loaded shells a month are being delivered to the order of the British War Office, while additional large orders are being executed for the Russian Government. The Imperial Munitions Board in Canada is paying out more than \$35,000,000 a month to Canadian manufacturers on the delivery of shells. It is said that only three of the great industrial corporations of the United States now handle more business on the American Continent than the board.

The Canadian manufacturer is not only producing loaded shells, but is also providing the rifle and entire equipment of every Canadian soldier. Where the part of the Dominion ends and the British Government begins by maintain-

ing him on active service, Canada steps forward and assumes responsibility for settling the bill, so that from first to last the cost of Canada's army will be borne by the Canadian people. Nor has Canada's share in the war been confined to the military side, for, according to an Admiralty statement, ten submarines have been constructed in Canada and sent across the Atlantic to join Britain's undersea fleet.

In the early part of the war the supply of munitions was handled by a Shell Committee appointed by the Canadian Government. When, at the end of 1915, this committee was superseded by the Imperial Munitions Board it had entered into contracts with the British War Office to supply \$340,000,000 worth of munitions, so remarkable had been the ability of Canadian manufacturers to adapt themselves to the requirements of the hour. They have made this change in a very short time and yet demonstrated that they could turn out an article as satisfactory as any in the world, and, what is still more surprising, at a much lower price than was thought necessary. According to J. H. Sherard, on his retirement from the Presidency of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in June, 1916, "Canadian firms are producing shells today, after one year of experience, at one-quarter of the Woolwich Arsenal cost." (Woolwich is the most important cannon and shell making centre in England, and is part of the army establishment.)

More than 400 Canadian firms are engaged in manufacturing shells, their component parts, and other warlike material. The number of persons employed is at least 250,000, while there

is also a legion of administrators, inspectors, and clerks occupied with incidental matters. The industrial development which the war has stimulated in Canada is indicated in this year's annual report of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, in which the President, Sir Edmund Walker, says: "If the outstanding contracts are filled and the war continues throughout 1916 it seems clear that during 1915 and 1916 there will have been spent in Canada for war supplies considerably more than \$500,000,000. We have learned in meeting the sudden demand upon our industrial capacity to do many things which should count in our future. We have learned to shift our machinery rapidly to new uses, to make objects of a more complicated character, which allow less margin for bad workmanship, to smelt copper, lead, and zinc; indeed, to do many things which before the war did not seem possible in the present stage of our development." Add to this that the grain acreage has been increased to such an extent that Canada is now, after the United States and Russia, the greatest wheat-producing country in the world; and, further, that instead of going outside Canada for money, the Dominion has for the first time in its history financed itself by domestic loans.

Great Britain may well congratulate herself on the practical loyalty and usefulness of the greater Britains beyond the seas, the allies whose growth has been made possible largely by the policy of endowing them with the self-governing rights of nationhood. Of these allies among the "colonial nations" none has proved more valuable than the Dominion of Canada.



The Catholic Church and the War

By Norman Murray

Publisher, Montreal, Canada.

"And while men slept the enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat and went his way."

THE great European war which started in August, 1914, and is still going on with increased fury in September, 1916, has opened the eyes of many people to dangers of whose existence they little dreamed before. Outside of the military clique in Germany, few people in other countries were aware of the ambition for world power which the Prussian Junkers cherished. Another great surprise in store for many who believed in human progress was the policy of frightfulness and terrorism with which the war has been carried on. No one outside of Germany suspected that ruthless war would be made by airships and under-water craft on defenseless noncombatants and even on neutrals.

Another great surprise in store was the indifference and apathy of the Roman Catholic part of the population of the British Empire. The situation in the Catholic portion of Ireland and in Quebec is almost identical, with a little to the good in favor of Catholic Ireland in the matter of recruiting for the British Army. The population of Quebec is about half that of Ireland, with about the same proportion of Catholics and Protestants in each—three Catholics to one Protestant in Ireland, and about four to one Protestant in Quebec.

In Ireland the statistics under the voluntary system give 75,000 recruits from the 1,000,000 of the Protestant population and 25,000 from the 3,000,000 Roman Catholics. In the two largest provinces in Canada the population is for Ontario 2,500,000 and for Quebec 2,000,000. The recruits thus far have been 150,000 from Ontario and 37,000 from Quebec. If Quebec had done as well as Ontario the recruits would have been about 120,000 instead of 37,000. Of the 37,000 men recruited in Quebec, about 7,000 were recruited from the 1,500,000

French Catholic population and the 30,000 were recruited from the 500,000 of the other race. To keep up the same proportion as the other sections of the population French Canadian Catholics would have to contribute 70,000 instead of 7,000. It appears that Catholic Ireland has done at least 30 per cent. better than Catholic Quebec.

Ireland was on the eve of getting the home rule that it was clamoring for for so many years when the war started. The strongest argument that had been used by the anti-home rulers was that with home rule Catholic Ireland would not only start a policy of persecution against the Protestant minority, but could not be trusted in case of war with other powers. Home rule advocates, on the other hand, maintained that with home rule Ireland, as a part of the British Empire, would be as loyal as the other parts of the empire. The recent rebellion in Ireland, however, has shaken the faith of many former sympathizers with home rule in England and Scotland and other places, and it is very doubtful if the Home Rule bill, passed before the war started, will be approved after the war by those in England and Scotland who voted for it before.

In Quebec the Catholic Church has special privileges that no other Church has in Canada, and still she does not seem to be satisfied. She is authorized by the treaty made at the conquest of Canada to collect tithes from her own adherents. Since the war started—and especially since the declaration of war by Italy against Austria—a violent anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on by a section of the adherents of that Church without interference by the Dominion Government. It is suggested by some that the leniency shown to this faction, while strong measures have been taken against others for less heinous

offenses of the same character, is due to the fact that the present occupant of the Ministry of Justice was educated by the Jesuits.

The strangest feature of the whole business is that the party now in power, known as the Tory or Conservative Party, had made an alliance at the time of its election with the extreme ultramontane party. While the Canadian hierarchy is said to have advised its people to do their part like their fellow-countrymen by enlisting in the imperial army, this advice seems to have no effect whatever, while the anti-recruiting party seems to be carrying the province. It has been suggested that the Church is playing a double game, and that, while it openly proclaims its loyalty, it is secretly working the other way through the confessional and otherwise.

In this connection we must try to examine the policy of the head organization of this extraordinary institution. The Church of Rome aims at world power; it claims to be the only supreme agency between God and man on earth. It never favored the rise of any strong political power that it could not control. Its antagonism to the policy of France and Italy in recent years is well known. It still wishes to get the City of Rome and the Lost Provinces under its control. The ultramontanes in Quebec have openly declared that they would not favor the crushing of Austria—their last hope for the restoration of the Pope's lost temporal power—between the upper and lower millstones of Russia's Greek Church and what they call infidel Italy.

What will happen after the war is a very interesting question. For over two hundred years after the overthrow of the power of the Church of Rome in the British Isles, Roman Catholics had practically no political rights at all. The laws against granting them political rights were made by people who had been Catholics and had thrown off the yoke of the Church. Emancipation laws were passed by Protestants who imagined that by giving their Catholic fellow-citizens equal rights they could be depended on to take their part shoulder to shoulder with their neighbors to defend their

country. All these expectations have lately been shattered by the extraordinary attitude of the major part of the Catholic population of Ireland and Quebec. It is true that a small number of them are doing their part nobly with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in defense of the empire, but unfortunately they are a very, very small section, and the heavy burden of the defense of their country, as well as ours, is laid upon the shoulders of the other portion of the population. Fortunately for the empire, however, when the total population of 400,000,000 is taken into consideration, this Catholic section that refrains from doing its share of this serious work is a very small section.

One redeeming feature in Canada is that English and French speaking Catholics are at loggerheads. The quarrel over the bilingual schools in Ontario, which the Quebec Catholics use as an excuse for refraining from taking their part in the war, is between the Irish and French Catholics, and is practically of no concern to other people at all. The Irish have lost the language of their own ancestors, and are now included among English-speaking people. Forgetting their own ancient language, however, and learning the English instead, has not made them more loyal in their co-operation in imperial matters with their English and Scotch neighbors, as some people foolishly imagined.

A strong effort has been made to recruit an Irish Catholic Regiment in Montreal. The movement started off with a great flourish of trumpets, with a Jesuit as chaplain, but it has been a complete failure after more than six months of strenuous work. The ranks have now been opened to Protestant sympathizers, and the recruiting still drags wearily along. Even some of the Catholic clergy have made strenuous efforts to induce their parishioners to rally and fill the ranks of their one and only Irish Catholic Regiment in Canada, but without avail. They had to try and fill it up with Protestants, as otherwise the movement seemed on the point of collapse.

The question now rises: Will people who refuse to take part in the defense

of their country have equal political rights with those who defend their country when the war is over? Will they have the same right to vote and have a share in making the laws with those who have offered their lives for the defense of the country? I think not. There is nothing sure in this world but "death and taxes." Catholics have often been

warned that the only way to secure the continuation of the policy of equal rights was for them to do their share equally with their neighbors of other religious beliefs in times of crisis. As they have failed to respond to the call, if some of their former privileges are ultimately curtailed, they will have nobody but themselves to blame.

Canada's New Imperial Spirit

Captain Papineau's Letter

CONFLICTING racial and religious ideals in Canada, touched to passion by the war, have produced a bitter controversy centring upon the question of recruiting. An active anti-recruiting campaign has been carried on in Montreal since May, 1915, when Italy declared war on Austria, and the propaganda against Canada's part in the conflict has been pressed most vigorously by Henri Bourassa of Montreal, leader of the Canadian Nationalist Party and editor of the French newspaper *Le Devoir*. Some Protestants charge that this hostile campaign of the French Catholics has not been suppressed because of religious favoritism on the part of Mr. Doherty, the Canadian Minister of Justice. An open letter recently addressed to this official contains the following passage:

Henri Bourassa is playing the game that destroyed the Grand Old Roman Empire, as in the classical description of Edward Gibbon, "The empire declined as the Church rose in power." * * * Blackstone says that "all laws ought to be based on common sense," so it may be laid down as a political axiom that people who act the traitor during such a crisis as we are now going through "de facto" forfeit their citizenship and should be treated as traitors. At the conquest of Canada those of Mr. Bourassa's ancestors who did not wish to become British subjects were given the liberty of taking the first ship to France. This treaty is still in force, and Mr. Bourassa is in the difficult predicament of being loyal to neither Britain nor France. The only places in which his recent antics might entitle him to a welcome would be either the Vatican or Austria.

A letter written to Mr. Bourassa by

his cousin, Captain Talbot M. Papineau, is genuine literature. Captain Papineau, a grandson of the French-Canadian Papineau who was proclaimed a rebel in 1837, is one of the younger lawyers in Montreal. A Rhodes scholar and an Oxford man, he obtained a commission in Princess Patricia's regiment in the first weeks of the war, and won the military cross in the trenches at St. Eloi. At the end of March, 1916, when the Canadian troops were suffering heavy losses, he wrote to his cousin, seeking to win him over to a cause which "had proved to be dearer to many Canadians than life itself." The letter begins by asking whether Canada should or could have stood apart from the empire when the war broke out, and supplies the answer:

By the declaration of war, by Great Britain upon Germany, Canada became *ipso facto* a belligerent, subject to invasion and conquest, her property at sea subject to capture, her coasts subject to bombardment or attack, her citizens in enemy territory subject to imprisonment or detention. This is not a matter of opinion, it is a matter of fact, a question of international law. No arguments of yours, at least, could have persuaded the Kaiser to the contrary.

Suppose Germany should win. Then Canada would either have to surrender unconditionally to German domination or attempt a resistance against German arms. Captain Papineau continues:

I can assure you that the further you travel from Canada the nearer you approach the great military power of Germany, the less do you value the unaided strength of Canada. By the time you are fifty yards off the German Army, and know yourself to be holding

about one yard out of a line of 500 miles or more, you are liable to be inquiring very anxiously about the presence and power of British and French forces. Your ideas about charging to Berlin or of ending the war will also have undergone some slight modification.

Suppose Great Britain won, without the help of Canada? Canada might still have retained her liberties, and might with the same freedom from external influences have continued her progress to material and political strength. But would you have been satisfied—you who have arrogated to yourself the high term of Nationalist? What of the soul of Canada? Can a nation's pride and patriotism be built upon the blood of others, or upon the wealth garnered from the coffers of those who in anguish and with blood sweat are fighting the battles of freedom? If we accept our liberties, our national life, from the hands of the English soldiers, if without sacrifices of our own we profit by the sacrifices of the English citizen, can we hope ever to become a nation ourselves? * * * If you were truly a Nationalist * * * you would have felt that, in the agony of her losses in Belgium and France, Canada was suffering the birth pains of her national life.

These arguments might not have convinced you at the beginning of the war. But now that Canada has pledged herself body and soul to the successful prosecution of this war, now that we know that only by the exercise of our full and united strength can we achieve a speedy and lasting victory, now that thousands of your fellow-citizens have died, and also many more must yet be killed, how in the name of all that you hold most sacred can you still maintain your position? * * * Could you have been here yourself to witness in its horrible detail the cruelty of war, to have seen your comrades suddenly struck down in death and lie mangled at your side, even you could not have failed to wish to visit punishment upon those responsible. You, too, would now wish to see every ounce of our united strength instantly and relentlessly directed to that end. Afterward, when that end has been accomplished, then, and then only, can there be honor or profit in the discussion of our domestic or imperial disputes.

Whatever criticisms may today be properly directed against the constitutional structure of the British Empire, we are compelled to admit that the spiritual union of the self-governing portions of the empire is a most necessary and desirable thing. * * * All may not be perfection—grave and serious faults no doubt exist—vast progress must still be made; nevertheless that which has been achieved is good, and must not be allowed to disappear. * * * The great communities which the British Empire has joined together must not be broken asunder. If I thought that the development of a national spirit in Canada

meant antagonism to the spirit which unites the empire today I would utterly repudiate the idea of a Canadian Nation and would gladly accept the most exacting of imperial organic unions.

The remainder of the letter is an eloquent statement of the racial community of French Canadians with the French people, and a warning to M. Bourassa of the effect of his anti-war policy upon the future of his kinsmen.

Unfortunately, despite the heroic and able manner in which French-Canadian battalions have distinguished themselves here, and despite the wholehearted support which so many leaders of French-Canadian thought have given to the cause, yet the fact remains that the French in Canada have not responded in the same proportion as have other Canadian citizens, and the unhappy impression has been created that French Canadians are not bearing their full share in this great Canadian enterprise. For this fact and this impression you will be held largely responsible. * * * Already you have made the fine term of Nationalist to stink in the nostrils of our English fellow-citizens. * * * After this war what influence will you enjoy? What good to your country will you be able to accomplish? Wherever you go you will stir up strife and enmity. You will bring disfavor and dishonor upon our race, so that whoever bears a French name in Canada will be an object of suspicion and possibly of hatred.

Can you make me believe that there must not always be a bond of blood relationship between the Old France and the New? And France, more glorious than in all her history, is now in agony. * * * For Old France and French civilization I would have had your support.

And, lastly, a word of warning from those Canadians who "have faced the grimmest and sincerest issues of life and death":

I say to you that from those who, while we fought and suffered here, remained in safety and comfort in Canada, and failed to give us encouragement and support, as well as from those who grew fat with the wealth dishonorably gained by political graft and by dishonest business methods at our expense, we shall demand a heavy day of reckoning. We shall inflict upon them the punishment they deserve—not by physical violence, for we shall have had enough of that—nor by unconstitutional or illegal means, for we are fighting to protect, not to destroy, justice and freedom—but by the invincible power of our moral influence. Can you ask us then for sympathy or concession? Will any listen when you speak of pride and patriotism? I think not.

BULGARIA'S ROYAL CHILDREN



The Princes and Princesses of the Bulgarian Royal House:
Boris, Heir Apparent; Cyril, Eudoxia, and Nadejda.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE



Owner of the London Times, Daily Mail, and Other English Journals,
Whose War Correspondence Appears in this Issue.

The Civil Work of German Women in War Times

By Dr. Agnes von Harnack

Miss Agnes von Harnack is the daughter of Adolph von Harnack, Professor of Theology at the University of Berlin, who is well known in the United States through his scientific work, and who has had many friends here since his visit to the World Exposition at St. Louis in 1904. Miss von Harnack was the first woman in Germany to study at a university. She studied modern languages, especially English, wrote a thesis on German Romanticism, and took her doctor's degree in 1912. Since that time she has been Principal of a high school for girls. Besides her activity as a teacher, she is prominent as a social worker in the interest of the betterment of woman's position in Germany. Outside of these tasks she is continuing her literary studies and is a contributor to several scientific periodicals.

ALMOST immediately after the outbreak of the war, when people had in some slight degree recovered from the first overwhelm-

ing surprise caused by the rapid course of events, the one thought uppermost in every German mind was, "We must devote all our time and strength to working for the Fatherland!" This was comparatively simple for the men who had their appointed tasks. But the problem for the women, and it was of the utmost urgency to them, was very different and very difficult. The men were organized; each was a cog in a smoothly running machine directed by a trained engineer. The women, or the great body of them, were not organized. Each had to find her work and learn to develop her usefulness in co-operation with the others. Enthusiasm and willingness had to be directed into practical channels.

The educated German women were united in one determination—that they and their sisters should not play the rôle women had played in previous wars

—to wait, to endure, to suffer without murmuring, to look on hopelessly without being of help. Even in the Franco-German war of 1870-71 only a small

number of women accompanied the troops as nurses, and while the women at home did much in a quiet way, their tasks were simple and individual. They were of no help to the nation. In 1914 women turned naturally to the Red Cross work, and during the first eight weeks of the war more than 23,000 girls and women in Berlin alone were trained for work in the field hospitals and ambulances. But their work and the work of nurses and women doctors at home, in the war zone, or at the front is not in my province; I wish merely to sketch briefly and in general terms the work of German women for

the civilian population, their united efforts for the nation.

Early in August, 1914, the National Women's Service League, (Nationaler Frauendienst,) a powerful organization of public-spirited women which had branches in nearly every German town,



DR. AGNES VON HARNACK

issued an appeal to all women who had had any training in political economy and social science to place their services at its disposal. These women were organized in local bodies and immediately assumed charge of the work of investigating applications made by the wives of soldiers for State aid. The league members soon learned local conditions, where distress and sickness prevailed, and where the care of children or other help was needed. Some idea of the magnitude of these labors may be derived from the fact that in Berlin alone more than ten million marks are paid out every month to indigent families of soldiers, and that practically all applications for aid are handled by the league. Everywhere the officials welcomed the league workers, since they not only relieved the overworked men, but their tasks were performed promptly and thoroughly. The soldier's wife or dependents found it much easier to deal with the league workers since they found in them a womanly sympathy that saved them from the embarrassment many of them felt.

Relief and advisory committees were formed for districts and presently became local institutions to which the inhabitants repaired for aid, for consolation, and for advice in dealing with domestic problems. The women and girls were tireless in their work and ready and able to meet the wide variety of demands made upon them. Every committee soon had its archives in which each case in its district was recorded, and only the experienced can know how many stairs were climbed, how many miles walked, how many questions asked, before even one case could be dealt with properly. In September and October alone the committees in Berlin delivered food certificates, milk and bread cards, and so forth, to a total amount of more than 130,000 marks.

But the committees' work is broader in scope than the mere giving of aid. Mothers and wives come with all their troubles. Not long ago a bewildered mother arrived in one of the Berlin committee rooms leading firmly by the hand an embarrassed but very obstinate-looking boy of 12. In the purest Berlin

dialect the mother volubly explained to the young lady in charge that she could do nothing with the youngster; he was running wild and paid no attention to her and, since his father was at the front, she wanted the young lady to give the lad a "piece of her mind." Somewhat startled by this rôle of paterfamilias, the young lady nevertheless tried her hand at giving the boy a "piece of her mind" with such splendid results that the grateful mother frequently returns to pour out her thanks. The young lady has a painful impression that her eloquence has inspired the mother with a disciple's zeal, and that she is waiting another opportunity to hear how it is done.

Another branch of work undertaken by the league was the care of children, organized in a special central bureau. In operation, it is aimed to be as thorough as possible, beginning with the care of nursing babies. By personal talks with mothers, the knowledge of rational nutrition was spread throughout the empire, and personal attention was paid to as many children as possible. Success has crowned this work. In Berlin, for instance, in the hot Summer of 1915, the mortality of babies was reduced by more than 2 per cent. below the normal.

For older children, schools and homes were established. In one suburb of Berlin, for instance, the poorest district of the city, about a hundred children selected by the school doctor were taken every day after school to the large gardens placed at their disposal by the municipality. Here they received their meals and worked and played till evening out in the open air, or in stormy weather in big, airy rooms, and then were taken home under proper supervision. For periods of eight or ten weeks the children lived this healthy life, and the rosy cheeks and rugged health to be found in the schools now is due to this excellent work. In this, as in all the other branches of endeavor, volunteers are laboring cheerfully side by side with the paid workers.

The problem of finding work for those thrown out of employment by the war was one of the first undertaken by the league. The aim was to make every

individual, in so far as possible, self-supporting in order to relieve the burden on the State. The war caused an industrial paralysis in certain lines of industry; factories manufacturing ready-made clothing and articles of luxury simply closed their doors. The female workers were hardest hit. The league promptly obtained from the military authorities orders for sewing work of every description, and the innumerable sewed articles which the soldier needs, from the tent on his back to his socks, were soon being made by the women. Knitting socks became woman's universal occupation; every one knitted, old and young. In the workrooms of the league, however, knitting was a serious job and the source of a livelihood. Many women would have become State charges if it had not been for the league's knitting rooms. And an entirely new kind of factory régime was instituted in these rooms. During the working hours, and the occupation is a dull one, volunteers read books, played music, sang, and gave short, interesting, and instructive talks on matters of general and even of philosophic interest.

In this way the work was made not only interesting, despite the fact that from five to seven hundred workers were frequently crowded into one room, but of educational value.

The wage scale that was finally worked out by the league—a problem that was rendered most complicated because of the wide variety of age, skill, types, and diligence—excited the highest admiration of professional industrial experts because of its equity and soundness. Only when the labor market began to improve, the confidence of manufacturers in ultimate victory induced them to open their factories, and the people began buying once more, did the league's workrooms close. Meantime, many links of sympathy and mutual understanding had been forged in them between the working girls and the volunteer helpers of the league.

The basic principle underlying the work of the league is to make every applicant for aid, in fact, every one in

whom the league is interested, in so far as possible self-supporting. The aim is to bolster self-respect and the feeling of personal responsibility so that any development of the begging habit may be nipped in the bud. There are, however, many cases in which applicants for relief cannot be expected to rely on themselves and their own unaided efforts, cases of hopeless poverty, of incurable disease, or in which all the normal activities of life had been disorganized by the war. And in such cases the response of the well to do has been most generous. The league has only to ask to get money or other assistance poured forth with a lavish hand. Sometimes zeal is excessive and has to be restrained. If it is necessary to provide clothing for a family, for a young man entering an apprenticeship, or for an expected child, the clothes collecting department is always prepared. Volunteer workers labor day after day sorting the steady stream of donations and directing their repair and alteration by skilled needlewomen and other workers. Inventiveness has free reign here, and when one examines at the end of the month the practical results it is almost impossible to realize that the pretty and serviceable garments had been developed out of unlikely material.

Educated women devoted themselves to the schooling of the children. While on the battlefield youthful blood flowed in streams and human life had become the cheapest of things, the women at home realized that their most important duty lay in healing youth, in educating it to capable manhood, and in nourishing it with everything valuable and beautiful which could be offered by knowledge and art.

A great number of schoolteachers had gone to the front. Women took their places, a thing hitherto unknown in Germany. Women teachers, candidates for degrees at the universities, even students were employed in boys' schools. Old schoolmasters shook their heads, but the work had to be carried on, and the women were ready and trained. To the satisfaction of every one, these women were completely successful in their work

and earned the regard and respect of their pupils.

Even to the girls' schools the war brought new tasks. By descriptions, by maps and charts, the positions of the armies were explained to the children; the many economic and political questions brought to the fore by the conflict were discussed and elucidated. Through the children, these discussions and explanations reached the parents and helped to educate the popular mind generally.

In addition, an effort was made to develop the feeling of national responsibility in the minds of the pupils. On almost every teacher's desk throughout Germany is a collection box in which the pupils deposit their savings. Every month these boxes are opened, and quite a little ceremony is made of the occasion. The children dispose of their collections as they see fit. Each class has its own particular work; one buys materials for presents to be sent to the soldiers at the front, another undertakes the care of a sick child and saves money with a view to sending its little protégé to a convalescent home, a third collects newspapers, a fourth provides a nearby hospital with games which the members of the class construct themselves. All this not only affords the children pleasure, but it has a real civic and educational value. The burden on the teacher is a heavy one, for she has to devise means of keeping the children interested and to act as guide and friend for them in their selected activities. The league opened in Berlin in the Winter of 1915-16 a State exhibition: "School and War." It was an impressive exhibit of the tremendous value of this work. By this work in the schools, the experiences of the war are engraved on the hearts of our children, and they will never forget its lesson.

In many houses throughout Germany the father is absent. To many he will never return. It would be culpable in the extreme to neglect the growing youth in these homes. The league is active in getting hold of girls and boys over school age who are enjoying a novel and dangerous freedom. Volunteer work-

ers of the league, women of education and social position, are engaged in organizing boys' and girls' clubs and in keeping closely in touch with their charges, over whom they exercise a tactful care.

The civil work of German women, however, has not been confined to looking after the welfare of children and of soldiers' dependents, important as that work is. They have taken in hand the organization of their own domestic economy. In recent years it has been the fashion abroad to regard the German woman as pre-eminently the housewife, concerned exclusively with her kitchen, her children, and her church. In fact, in England and America the idea that German women were anything but housewives, cooks of skill and resource in producing food whose first quality was substantial, nutritive value, whose social standing was vested purely in the ability to keep house well and economically, received no credence.

As a matter of fact, for the last decade the German woman was paying attention to many other things than her house, and the housewife type was rapidly disappearing. German women were entering the professions, and the other forces of our modern social structure were forcing the housekeeping type into the background. Germany came more and more to live on imported goods. The war instantly changed that. Food could no longer be imported, delicacies were out of the question, the women had to learn to keep house and supply the table in a rational manner from Germany's own resources. It took a little time for the women to realize this, but when they did they acted quickly and successfully. The housewives throughout Germany were organized into guilds, sometimes associated with local institutions, sometimes as independent bodies.

The first task undertaken was a rigid training in economy. Nothing must be wasted! The war broke out just at the season of the fruit harvest, and immediately preserved fruit kitchens were improvised everywhere. Volunteers toiled over the stoves, putting up the rich fruit harvest, so that none should go to waste.

This was true not only of the small towns, but even in Berlin. In one of the capital's most beautiful and wealthiest suburbs, throughout August and September, every morning the heavily laden fruit carts from the Central Market in the city appeared at 8 o'clock. Beside the driver of the first cart sat two of the ladies of the suburb who went to the market every morning at 6 o'clock in order to procure the choicest fruit. The carts were unloaded in the yard of the schoolhouse and their contents carefully weighed. Then a crowd of young girls, with handcarts of every description, busied themselves distributing the fruit to the houses of the women who had agreed to put up preserves on that particular day. If there was any surplus, the ladies who bought the fruit and other volunteers prepared the preserves in the school kitchen. They were at their post every day while the harvest lasted. The preserves were collected weekly from the houses and stored in the schoolhouse. In three months this suburb put up more than 20,000 pounds of preserves, which were distributed among hospitals, hospital trains, and children's homes. The work was continued in the late Summer of 1915 and in 1916.

The organization of housewives did more than preserve fruit and vegetables. The public had to be taught how to live differently—not worse than in peace times, but differently. A people is most conservative where its eating is concerned. Men cling to food habits when all others disappear. And the task confronting the housewives was nothing less than teaching the nation to alter its food habits, its ideas of a menu, its eating custom. At first, the means tried was mass meetings in which lecturers expounded the new principles of dietetics, and speakers from the audiences described their experiences.

Many a woman who had never before even thought of addressing an audience found herself on the platform exhorting and advising her neighbors out of her own experience.

Meetings were not enough, however. Women came in droves, listened intently, applauded enthusiastically—and then

went home and, after a brief struggle against the family tastes, gave up, and tried to adhere to the pre-war dietary. Rapidly, of course, the sale of many staples was restricted and the import of others ceased altogether, thus throwing the established menu into chaos. Then the housewives' guilds began practical demonstrations in neighborhoods, showing how the available foodstuffs could be best employed.

Cooking recipes were invented and experimented with, cooking evenings and cooking parties organized, and consulting and advisory bureaus opened throughout the country. The solution of the dietary problems is ascribable altogether to the work of the housewives' guilds.

The marked increase in the cost of living was due in no small degree to the activities of the middlemen, who bought low, held stocks in reserve, and then forced the selling price as high as they could. The housewives determined to overcome this situation by opening up co-operative retail shops, operated by volunteers, where good wares could be purchased at little more than wholesale cost. These shops presently controlled the food price situation in their localities, many of them in crowded districts taking in more than one thousand marks on a single afternoon. And these shops proved particularly valuable as a market for the fruits and vegetables grown by members of the housewives' unions.

For, early in the war, the policy of cultivating every scrap of ground was put into effect by the women of Germany. The organization of girl scouts and many large girls' schools undertook the cultivation of untilled tracts, and every day crowds of young girls and women could be seen marching under the guidance of a specially trained teacher to their fields. The product of these fields was turned over to the various relief agencies. The work itself proved of great health value to the volunteers, and many an anaemic society belle became husky at this work.

In the poorer quarters of the cities the task of public alimentation was carried out with detailed thoroughness. Popular

kitchens and so-called middle-class kitchens were opened, and the women in charge took care that these eating places and cooking places were made as bright and attractive as possible. Something dainty and appetizing was to be had for even the simplest meal.

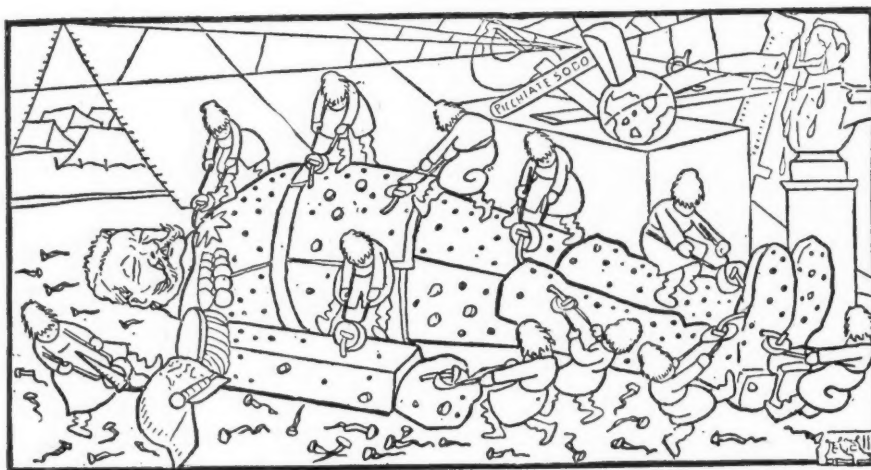
In these kitchens perhaps more than in any other of the war institutions was the radical social benefit of the conflict on the domestic problems of the German Nation made most manifest. All classes worked together. The wealthy woman and the shopkeeper's wife found themselves side by side, giving the very best in them for a common cause, united in labor for the nation. A common purpose united them, and acclaim went to the individual who did the best work, no matter what her social status might be. In the relief committees of the National Women's Service League the wives of high officials and the wives of Social Democrats meet on a parity. Women from town and country, adherents of various religious beliefs, work hand in hand and realize in action the profound truth and wisdom of the Emperor's dic-

tum: "I know no parties, I know only Germans."

These women see already in spirit the new Germany after this cruel and bloody conflict is ended. Their work is all for that future Germany of peace. Mothers, brides, and sweethearts, they know that in this new Germany many strong arms and clever minds will be lacking. Their thoughts, despite their work, wander perpetually to the resting places of the peaceful sleepers in France and Poland. Nearly every one of them has lost some one who cannot be replaced, but they have refused to permit themselves to lapse into inactive brooding and mourning. They remain steadfast in life, active to administer the legacy of the dead placed in their hands. They form an army of peaceful fighters against enemies which threaten all the nations of the world—against poverty, neglect of the young, an economic situation that inevitably brings in its train the root of destitution, bodily and mental exhaustion. Their weapons are altruism and purity, their gauge the dignity and well-being of the German Nation.

Hindenburg's Nightmare

[An Italian Cartoon]



—From Travaso, Rome.

After the honor of the Berlin nails comes the grip of the Russian pincers.

The Civilizing Influences of War

By Alfred Rosenblatt*

Professor in the University of Cracow

Oh, tra le mura che il fraticidio cemento eterne, pace e vocabolo mal certo. Dal sangue la Pace solleva candida d'alt. Quando?
—Carducci: *La Guerra*, Bologna, 1891.

CIVILIZATION and war appear—especially in the light of the present war—to present irreconcilable antitheses. Therefore the assertion that war has a civilizing significance seems to us to be a fantastic paradox. And, nevertheless, distinguished minds have seriously busied themselves with this problem and have historically demonstrated the civilizing influences of war.

Some twenty-five years ago there was held in Rome a great congress of the League for Peace, participated in by important scientists and prominent members of European Parliaments. Brilliant speeches against war were delivered, plans for eternal peace were discussed, resolutions demanding the settlement by arbitration of all international difficulties were framed and adopted, &c.

Shortly after this there appeared a poem dedicated to war by the well known Italian poet, Giosue Carducci, entitled "*La Guerra*," and ending in the strophe cited above, which is particularly fitting at present. In glowing words Carducci sings the praises of war and describes what mankind owes to it. Even the discovery of America may be credited to the warlike spirit of an adventurer, who, armed with sword and shield, sallied forth to conquer new lands for the Spanish Empire.

In this connection Lotar Dargun, late professor of German history and legal history at the University of Cracow, whose untimely death was a severe loss to science, took up the question of the civilizing influence of war in a public

lecture, investigated it more closely, and presented the bright sides of war in a manner calculated to be of universal interest in the serious times through which we are passing, and to banish, or at least lessen, our grave anxieties regarding the consequences of the war.

The civilizing power of war was already recognized and discussed by old Lord Bacon of Verulam. The conquests of war and their meaning for the progress of humanity have also been discussed in detail by Herbert Spencer and the well-known sociologist, Professor Gumpłowicz of Gratz.

Alexander Humboldt describes in "*Cosmos*" the civilizing effects of the Macedonian wars of Alexander the Great. He takes especial pains to point out that they opened an extensive and beautiful part of the world to the influence of a highly cultivated people; that through Alexander's conquests the Greek language and literature were spread abroad with beneficent effects, and, finally, that at the same time the making of scientific observations and the systematic elaboration of all the sciences, through the teachings and example of Aristotle, became clear to the intellect. He closes by declaring that the Macedonian expedition may be regarded as a scientific expedition in the truest sense of the word, and, indeed, as the first in which a conqueror surrounded himself with savants from every branch of science, with naturalists, surveyors, historians, philosophers, and artists. Even Aristotle exercised an indirect influence through the intellectuals of his school who accompanied the expedition.

The most prominent historian of the Roman Empire, Mommsen, says that the Romanization of Italy was only effected through Sulla's wars, and that this result was not too dearly bought by the streams of blood spilled in those wars.

* Specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Nord und Süd, the Berlin political and economic magazine published by Dr. Ludwig Stein.

The conquest of Gaul by the Romans was also a work of civilization of the first rank.

All the larger States have been organized as the result of wars. Among the Germanic peoples military organizations were at the same time governmental bodies. Thus war created the State and the State created civilization.

International law was also created by war, but the present war has unfortunately annihilated it.

We have to thank war for the founding and the development of cities and for their growth and strength. War forced the inhabitants of scattered districts to unite, to build fortified towns, and to organize places for defense against the dangers of war. The Princes' need of money, induced by the wars that they carried on, was often the cause of progress in the matter of public institutions and rights; that is to say, the sovereigns engaged in war needed money for the war and the cities furnished them with it in return for rights and privileges which made possible and also promoted the prosperity of the cities.

The greatest human blessings, religion and ethics, science and art, owe much more to war—as Professor Dargun points out—than would be believed without an investigation of the question. Through wars religion and ethics have found their way to all parts of the world.

Many branches of science receive their greatest advancement through wars.

In the first line comes geography. It is not necessary to prove that war requires a thorough and detailed study of the hostile country, thus promotes geographical and ethnical science, and contributes to the spread of this knowledge.

The great progress of modern technique stands in close connection with military technique. The mighty advance in the technique of fortification and the manufacture of arms promoted by war's needs has reacted in an animating manner upon all other branches of technical work and has aided invention. The mastery of the air by human beings and the unexpected development of the art

of flying may certainly be traced indirectly to war. The extension of lines of communication, especially in the form of great and far-flung networks of railroads, is the result of the necessities of war. And the civilizing effects of railroad connections constitute a recognized and inassailable fact. The railroad unites even the smallest town with the great centres of culture, science and art, spreads civilization in every direction, brings individuals and nations closer to each other, and promotes industry and the welfare of the people. But a short time ago the American magazine, *Popular Science Monthly*, pointed out in a long article how in Germany all branches of science, of technique, of industry, and of trade worked hand in hand with militarism to their profit. Because militarism spurs inventors and investigators on to create things that it needs for its purpose, inventions are made that add life to all industries and enrich the entire nation.

The Germany of today owes its greatness and strength to the war of 1870-71.

That war offers many productive stimuli to art and literature is proved by the numerous masterpieces of art and literature that treat of warlike events; we shall only mention Homer's immortal "Iliad," Virgil's "Aeneid," the Nibelungen songs, Shakespeare's war dramas, the Maid of Orléans, Wallenstein, and all the magnificent battle paintings, &c.

Dargun closes his exceedingly thought-provoking exposition by contrasting the virtues of peace with the virtues which war brings to maturity. There are, says Dargun, certain virtues necessary for the maintenance of the soundness of the people, such as personal manly courage, the consciousness of duty and honor, discipline and the sense of order, consciousness of the worth of one's own personality, and the willingness of self-sacrifice for the common good, which attain their true value only in war. These virtues become weaker during periods of long-continued peace. The full inner worth of the nation is only developed in times of danger. The sentiments of all the members of the State are united and concentrated in the all-powerful feeling

of love for the Fatherland. Every one knows that the persons most dear to his heart are risking their lives for the common cause. Every one gladly and self-sacrificingly throws himself and all that he has into the mighty whirlpool of the war. The nation goes through a baptism of fire that works wonders and from which it arises strengthened a hundred-fold, if it only holds out to the happy ending of the war.

Before closing we must find room here for the following observations regarding war and culture from the writings of a cheerful philosopher, (Weber's "Demokritos," 1863.) Wars made men better acquainted with each other and carried the products of nature from one quarter of the globe to the other; silk, fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and rice from Asia; corn, tobacco, potatoes, Peruvian bark, &c., from America. Millions of potato eaters do not know how dear Mithridates made them for Lucullus. In fact, war seems to be an educator of nations; the Trojan war developed the culture of the Greeks, as the one with the Persians and the more remote wars of Sesostris with the nations of India developed the culture of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, and the Greeks and Carthaginians made the Romans become real Romans. The

Crusades again gave the first impulse to the intellect of Europe, as was also the case with the Turkish and Italian campaigns; the Thirty Years' War brought light into religious thought, as the French Revolution did into politics and even into men's ideas of war itself. One year of war puts more geography and statistics into people's heads than thirty years of peace; long encampments and battlefields enrich the earth at least as much as the clouds of powder smoke clear the air, and we Germans owe to the French war the cutting down of the sorry polycracy that our idol Hermann would certainly have allowed to continue for a long time. In closing we wish merely to express the desire and hope that the present gigantic war, which unfortunately has changed the standards of civilization, will also have its good sides and achieve civilizing effects. Perhaps the greatest war the world has ever seen will also be of the greatest and most important civilizing significance.

Perhaps it will succeed in doing that which thus far all peace pamphlets, peace palaces, and peace congresses have failed to do—that is, bring the waging of war to a *reductio ad absurdum* and be the last of European wars.

The Destroyer

By CHARLOTTE TELLER

To reap his harvest,
Death has set them at each other.
Their curtains of red fire and their veils
 of black smoke
Are his banners.
The hand that murdered the Archduke
Was a hand saluting the Great Monarch.
When he summoned his subjects,
They came
From the four corners of the earth,
And he was sure of his victory.
Do you read of defeat?
It is his triumph!
Do you read of victory?
It is he who has conquered.
Where they are making cannon
And its food,

He is there.
Where they are shaping bombs
In their laboratories,
He stands beside them.
When they search the plains for horses
That men must ride into battle,
His eye sweeps that plain before them.
He is the General of all the armies.
It is his cry that is heard at night—
The cry that torments their dreams.
His voice is in the throat of every one in
 council
Who says:
"Let this war go on,
That we may win."
He is Master.

MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

Why Not Make Peace Now?

By Israel Zangwill

Novelist and Playwright

Replying to the criticisms of a fellow-author, Eden Phillpotts, upon his new book, "The War for the World," Mr. Zangwill presents the following argument for immediate peace negotiations on the part of the Allies, incidentally remarking that there is too general a tendency to twist an important text and make it read, "Cursed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called pro-Germans":

THE imaginary heresies against which my kindly critic misdirects his indignation are (1) that I hold we ought to let Germany run amuck at her pleasure; (2) that the immediate peace I propose would be an "inconclusive peace," nay, tantamount to a German victory. But, surely, when I say that Germany's militarism is her own affair, it is obvious I mean only the internal organization, which is her misfortune, and not that the external effects of this military mechanism can never become England's business. Would, indeed, that England had been "the England of our dreams," and had ridden about as a paladin, redressing human wrong. But a knight who stands idly by while Prussia robs Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein, while she tears Alsace-Lorraine from the bleeding flank of France, while she expropriates the Poles of her Polish province, and who only couches his lance when Belgium—his own buffer State—is invaded, who even ignores Germany's prior passage through neutral Luxembourg or Russia's subsequent passage through neutral Persia, surely partakes more of Sancho Panza than of Don Quixote.

I gladly concede—and particularly remarked in my book—that a chivalrous enthusiasm for Belgium animated our first volunteers. But that was the Brit-

ish people, and foreign policy is, alas! the domain of a few Machiavellian despots, who interpret our generous ardor for the small nations as humbling proud Persia in the dust and setting up poor little Russia on both sides of the Dardanelles. Mr. Phillpotts winces at my "pinpricks," but, inasmuch as the Archbishop of Canterbury will not hear of peace proposals because of our utter and unrelieved righteousness, a little pricking of such Christian complacency may be a necessary prelude to the re-establishment of peace on earth and the salvation of Europe.

For that is the real question. How much longer must the flower of England (and of Europe) be butchered and tortured? How much lower are Christianity and civilization to fall? That the question of peace is not agitating us day and night, that it is even boycotted or replaced by sterile Gallipoli investigations, that "true-born Englishmen" are discussing the eleven revues of London—this is a monumental example of what I have called "the levity of war politics." If any man can read the description cited by Mr. Galsworthy of the "hundreds of wounded men lying on contested ground and screaming all through the night" and not burn to end the war instantly by any honorable means, he must be a devil—or a munition manufacturer.

But is there any honorable means? Bloch, in his great work, "Budushchaya Voina," ("The Future of War,") prophesied that war's only future was deadlock, and already the critics who scoffed at my contention that Verdun illustrated the thesis are repeating that the Somme is a second Verdun. There are, indeed, thinkers who urge that a deadlock would be the best ending, since militarism would then be universally discredited. It would

have shot its deadliest bolt everywhere and effected nothing anywhere. But I do not even maintain that there is a deadlock—modern warfare is far more than the mere shock of arms—and my argument is unaffected, even if we get through on the Somme.

I do not urge that we should seek peace, but that we should grant it. For, from the paralyzed ports of Germany's extinguished world commerce, from her millions of hungry homes and widowed hearths, one wail for peace goes up. Where is the proud Prussia that set out to capture Paris in six weeks? That triumphal march has been turned to a funeral march. But we are told Germany still holds large slices of enemy country and will only make terms "on the basis of the war map." Well, look at the war map. The globe, I was taught at school, is three-fourths water. And we hold that water. Germany, whose future was to have been on it, stands high and dry, like a stranded hulk. And against her conquests in Europe we hold her colonies, territories far vaster and infinitely easier to hold.

It is the custom in chess when games have lasted overlong to adjudicate on the position and to declare a victory for black or for white. Why play out the great war game to the ghastly end, when the pawns are flesh and blood? Can even

a German beholding the vast forces now concentrated against Germany imagine that playing it out can give her a victory? The formation of Prince Wedel's "League for an Honourable Peace" is sufficient answer—imagine Prussia sanctioning such a league in 1870! Why, the Germans had given up the hope of victory even by Christmas, 1914. Writing in those days from America, Mr. Jerome reported the conversation of a prominent financier in touch with German feeling: "The Allies could get all they wanted in reason now." (He was very insistent on the words "in reason.") "Why go on piling up ruin and misery for no object? You will not annihilate Germany. At the end of three years you will only obtain from her what she is willing to grant now. Why not take it now?"

That Germany will now accept any terms "in reason" is certain. Those who profess to doubt this must explain why they refuse to put it to the test. It would be so simple to go on fighting, if she asks too much. Is it that they fear we should then be provided with a standard by which to measure the ratio of our further sacrifices to our additional gains, and by which—when peace is signed a year or five years hence—to gauge if the prolongation of the war was far-sighted statesmanship or a gigantic gamble in life and treasure?

The Dawn of Doubt in Germany

By Friedrich Naumann

German Journalist and Author of a Noted Volume on "Mittel-Europa"

An extraordinary article on the weakening of German public opinion regarding the war was published by Herr Naumann in his weekly paper, Die Hilfe, on Aug. 17. Following is a translation of the more significant passages:

WHEN the war began everybody was convinced that now we must fight, for how could we let other peoples tear us to pieces? At that time everybody understood that this was a case of necessity, just as if we were threatened by a flood or a fire. But to-

day there are people enough who no longer rightly know why we are still fighting. There really are these people.

I was visited lately by a soldier who, late in the war, was taken up in the Landsturm, and who now, as a grown man, has passed through his time of training in barracks. I know him well, and I know that by very reason of his calling he understands the way of thinking of the simple people. He said to me: "It must be explained to the people quite simply and intelligibly why they

are still fighting, because they do not know." I answered that two years are surely enough to make it clear to the thickest head. He, however, replied: "Two years ago all these people knew; but as they read the newspapers only irregularly, have little knowledge of geography, and have no training in historical thought, they, even at the beginning, grasped the general impression rather than the detailed events. Meanwhile, all that has for them returned to a state of flux and become obscure, and now they are mentally helpless in face of the sacrifices of the long war. Hence it becomes possible for the agitation of the Liebknecht type to find its way into the very army."

I then made further inquiries among men and women who, by constant contact, know something of the way of thinking of small people, and this is what I heard. Two years are a long time for the memory, especially when people's sufferings and experiences have been so manifold during this time. At the beginning people had no real idea what war is, but they were ready to conduct war. Meanwhile, death in the field and privations at home have become greater than any power of imagination had previously conceived. Hence the impression easily arises that one has been pushed into something which one did not really desire. The necessity of what is happening is questioned, and the longing that the abnormal state of things may cease dims the eyes to the inevitable character of events. To this is then added the old and eternal mistrust of the small for the great, and it is said: "Those people at the top need the war, and that is why we have to endure it."

And then what a marvelous picture of the beginning of the war takes shape in the brain! From the simple fact that the ultimatum to Serbia was dispatched by Austria, and that the formal declarations of war were dispatched by us to Russia and France, it is concluded that we produced the war. What everybody knew at the beginning of August, 1914—that the declarations of war were only a consequence of the threats of mobilizations pouring in upon us—passes out of

sight, and only the formal course of events remains. To this is then added the unscrupulous campaign of agitation and of calumny by Germans of Germans, as if we had been the disturbers of the peace. One has seen fly-sheets which talk as if it depended on our Government whether it should will peace tomorrow or not. The burden of the trouble and want caused by the war is put upon the Government. Assuredly this hateful perversion is really believed only by few. But some of it sticks—as though the German Government were at bottom just as guilty as the English Government or the Russian Government—and a dull feeling gets abroad that all the peoples have been condemned to many sufferings by the mistakes and sins of those who rule them.

And there is something still further. Owing to the fact that we have been somewhat vigorous in hailing and celebrating our victories, many people who are weak in arithmetic have lost all sense of the fact that there are still great Russian, English, French, and Italian forces in existence. When, therefore, after two years the very greatest efforts have still to be made, it is as though we had been cheated of our bargain. People can no longer rightly believe that the present battles are inevitable battles of defense. They have rather the gloomy suspicion that a policy of conquest, over and above what is necessary, is being pursued. And here a positively disastrous effect is produced by certain documents in which great leagues and private persons express the lust of conquest. Only general ideas of their contents reach the great mass of the people; but, to the best of my belief, their existence is well known in every barracks, in every workshop, and in every village inn. The consequence of this conquest literature is the disappearance of simple faith in the defensive war.

Of what use to us is all the edifying talk about war aims, if the foundations of public opinion do not meanwhile remain absolutely firm? They are still firm, but more attention must be paid to them than has been the case hitherto.

Herr Naumann then advises that the

people should be taught that the present German occupation of enemy country is a great blessing for the Germans, and also that it is absolutely necessary, because the enemy occupies German col-

onies, Asiatic Turkey, Eastern Galicia, and also a bit of the Vosges. They should also be told that the war has to go on because the enemy still desires to attack and crush Germany.

What the Attitude of a Radical Should Be Toward the War

By Prince Peter A. Kropotkin

There has recently appeared in Russia a brochure entitled "Prince Kropotkin on the War." Excerpts from it are here translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*. Kropotkin is the leader of the theoretical anarchists and his earlier writings are widely known in America.

SERBIA was not the cause of the war, nor was German fear of Russia, but the fact that, with the exception of an insignificant minority, the class that is in control of Germany's political life was intoxicated by its former triumph over France and its rapidly developing military power on land and sea. This class considered it an offense to Germany that her neighbors had interfered with her desire to capture the rich colonies along the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, and in part of China; that they were in advance of her in planning to control the Adriatic, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and that they had prevented her from establishing her hegemony over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The rapid extension of Germany's home industries in the last forty years and the failure of a simultaneous growth in wealth among the peasantry, creating no market (such as exists in the United States) for manufactured products, made it possible for the enormous mass of the German proletariat to become infected with the same designs for conquest and to dream of the rapid development of a powerful capitalism through this conquest. As a consequence we have the German admiration for the idea of an all-powerful military State, the worship of the army, and the amazing unanimity of the people on these points.

Freedom of people? Ideals of peace? Progress? Nothing of the sort is inscribed on the banner of the German Em-

pire. It promises only war, it is a guarantee for future conflicts only, for the subjugation of free nations, for a centralized military State wherein the entire life of the country shall be dominated by the military ideal, the ideal of which Wilhelm, who styled himself the "rod of God," is the incarnation.

Just try to imagine in reality what the triumph of Germany in the present war would mean:

The subjection of all Belgium, or at least the major part of it; in any case, the establishment of Germany in Antwerp and, in all probability, in Calais.

The forcible annexation of Holland to the German Empire.

The menace of annexing Switzerland, which would no longer be defended by France and Great Britain.

The addition to Germany of part of France, and, consequently, the appearance of a line of German forts within a few miles of Paris; the prohibition of French fortifications; an enormous, exhausting indemnity to be spent mainly on the further expansion of the German Army and Navy, (already Bismarck regretted that he had not exacted a \$3,000,000,000 instead of a \$1,000,000,000 indemnity.) The result would be the debasement of France to the position of a third-rate power; it would no longer dare to take any steps in the direction of social progress because of fear of Germany. Belgium has been in such a position all these years. France would

be in a like plight, and England also would fall to an approximately similar condition.

Now, when there are transports capable of accommodating several thousand persons, when submarines, aeroplanes, and dirigible airships are become part of armaments, England's immunity to German invasion is no more. Experts concede the possibility of such an invasion now, and should the Prussian helmet dominate the northern coast of France, an invasion of England would merely become a question of the convenient moment. The entire order of life and the further development of the country would have to adapt themselves to such a possibility, as was the case in France.

As to the consequences of Germany's triumph over us in Russia, one does not even like to think, so terrible would they be. What would become of the internal development of our country if on the Nieman, at Riga, and possibly in Revel, German fortifications on the order of Metz were erected—not for the defense of the captured territory, but for further offensive purposes? Fortifications from which armies fully equipped could be moved on Petrograd the first day after a war declaration?

On the whole, the triumph of Germany in this war would mean the enslavement of the entire European civilization by military ideals. Her triumph of 1870 had already given us forty years of such slavery with the arrest of universal progress. Her victory over France, Belgium, England, and Russia would give us now half a century or more of a similar retardation of progress throughout Western Europe and all the Slavonic world. * * *

To all who will not shut their eyes at the events transpiring around us, it is sufficiently clear why no one to whom the progressive development of humanity is dear, and whose mind is not clouded by personal attachments or by sophisms of official patriotism, should be in doubt as to the side one ought to take. One should not remain neutral, as neutrality in the present case means support of the iron fist.

The vast majority of the people understand this, and on all sides we hear the words: The Allies will win, and this struggle will be the last European war. The rights of all nationalities to free development will be recognized, the federation idea will be applied in remaking the map of Europe. The ugliness of war and the failure of armed peace to prevent war have clearly demonstrated that a period of general disarmament is approaching. The union among the advanced nations, which is being enhanced since the arrival of a common danger by the extraordinary united efforts of all concerned, will inevitably leave its traces on every nation. The foundations of a new life in all the strata composing the modern State are already being laid. * * *

In all the activities of the anti-militarists, the opponents of war, there was a fundamental error. They thought that by their propaganda against war they could prevent it in spite of the fact that all the causes that make war inevitable were still in full force.

They wrote that the cause of modern war is European capitalism and its accompanying phenomena. They believed that a general strike in all the countries about to enter into a war would render the expected conflict impossible.

But by some kind of miracle all the tremendous powers of capitalism and its dependent forces vanished, crumbled away and became paralyzed at the outbreak of the war. And they vanished not only in France but also in that other country—Germany—the country which saw in the conquest of part of France, in the weakening of her, and in the annexation of her colonies, a "necessary step" toward the development of Germany's own capitalism!

A patent incongruity was, then, the result. And I now ask myself if the majority of the anti-militarists ever realized fully the organic bond seen by them between war and European capitalism. Did they not attach too much importance to the evil will of individuals? * * * So long as there are States the peoples of which are ready, in expectation of personal benefits, to

support a movement for conquest, war cannot be averted by preaching. Those anti-militarists who, in the name of opposition to all war, refuse to support either of the warring sides, are, in my opinion, making a serious mistake. They have omitted from their view one thing—the present war is creating new history. It introduces to all the peoples new conditions of social reconstruction. And when this reconstruction shall have begun, it will pass by those men who had refused to act at a time when the fortunes of the century were being decided on the fields of battle.

The end of German hegemony, the disintegration of the Austrian Empire, the dawn of a new life for the Slavonic peoples, a united Poland again contributing her own national creations to the treasury of science and art—all this and much more may be expected from this war.

When old Garibaldi called together in 1870 his old and new comrades and went

to fight for the French Republic against Germany, he did not seek world aims to justify his action. He did not overestimate the import of the war. But he saw in France liberty struggling against autocracy, and considered it his duty to come, as he had always done, to the defense of the former against the latter. * * * Right and progress were on the side of France. To you and many others all this is not enough. You doubt. You want to know definitely if this war will be a war of liberation. But this question cannot be answered in advance. All depends on its conclusion and the circumstances incident to it. Only one thing is certain. If Germany is victorious, then the war will not have been a war of liberation. It will bring on Europe a new slavery. * * * It is necessary that the whole German Nation shall see in reality into what an abyss of destruction and moral degradation its Kultur, wholly devoted to conquest, has hurled it.

The Faculty of Wonder Dulled

By Winston Spencer Churchill

Former First Lord of the British Admiralty

Following is an excerpt from a recent article in the Sunday Pictorial of London:

THE limitations of man's intellect do not govern the scale of his affairs.

He does what he can; he comprehends what he can, and the rest happens. When Armageddon burst over Europe probably no single brain achieved a complete and rightly proportioned view of the cataract of events. The first weeks and months of the general war escaped to a large extent from human control. The forces liberated were unmeasured; the consequences of their exercise unforeseeable. * * *

The chaos of the first explosions has given place to the slow fire of trench warfare; the wild turbulence of the incalculable, the sense of terrible adventure have passed. For nearly two years the armies of Europe have dwelt close together in opposing ditches, fed by lavish

floods of human life and broadening streams of shot and shell, tormenting each other by ever-growing and improving agencies of death; and behind them their countries have transformed the infinitely varied activities of modern civilization into the three comprehensive institutions of the barracks, the arsenal, and the hospital.

The progress of the war is no longer to be measured by the battles or the positions of the contending fronts, but mainly by the economic and political reactions which the long and ever more tightly drawn strain is producing in the various nations.

Every man, every woman, every workable child is gradually being fitted into the war machine.

A sombre mood prevails in Britain. The faculty of wonder has been dulled; emotion and enthusiasm; excitement is

bankrupt, death is familiar, and sorrow numb.

The world is in twilight; and from beyond dim flickering horizons comes tirelessly the thudding of guns. A hard, frost-like surface of gayety sparkles in the cities; and anxiety turns to thoughtlessness or to apathy for relief.

The beloved figure of son, father, brother, friend descend from trains on flying visits, recreating around them for a little precarious space the happiness of far-off days before the war. A few hours of safety and comfort, a vivid interlude of home and pleasure, and then back, as a matter of course, as a com-

monplace experience, to the slow fire which with intensifying fierceness consumes the flesh and sears the hearts of peoples.

Now one understands how men lived through the periods that seem so terrible in the history books, and went about their business, and joked and ate their dinners, and filled their theatres. Now, too, one understands how our forefathers, with shoulder bended to the burden, with searching eye fixed upon the enemy, preserved through the perils, the difficulties, and the blunders of a thousand years the life and honor of Britannia's isle.

The Changed Ideals of the Belligerents

By V. Kershentseff

Russian Author and Journalist

[Translated for *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* from the *Severnica Zapiski*, Petrograd.]

THE further into the past the first days of the war retreat, the dimmer grow the idealistic watchwords which originally lent a spiritual glory and lustre to the patriotism of the warring nations. From under the sumptuous cover of words there emerges sharply the dry skeleton of materialistic and selfish ambitions.

The long war has become to the world an every-day affair, and this is depriving it of the epithets with which it was formerly described, such as "liberating," "civilizing," "altruistic," &c. The problems of the war have grown complicated, and changed its face. After two years we look at events with different eyes.

Who will now undertake to prove that this is a war against militarism? It is this war that has helped the development of militarism in a maximum degree. It is this war that has communicated the militaristic disease even to such a country as the United States. Can there be any doubt that victory will be achieved by that group of nations which shall have its military organization developed to the highest perfection? By a perfect military organization we mean not only the purely technical militarism, but the total

of the economic, political, and technical factors comprising the military organization of a State. Not only the skeptical historian of the world war, but the ordinary citizen as well, will arrive at the conclusion that a certain group of nations was victorious because it had demonstrated its ability to solve international problems through armed force. Who will assert that such a conclusion will be a blow to militarism? Will it not be just the other way?

The war, it was said, was being waged in the name of freedom, equality, and even fraternity.

Looking back at the past months, who can confirm this thesis with facts? Who will deny the evident truth that in all the warring countries the tide of conservatism is rising? The best example is furnished by the freest country in Europe—England. Step by step the Liberal Party is giving way before the encroachments of a strengthened conservatism. The principle of voluntary military service is abandoned. The press is muzzled. The theory of free trade is found antiquated. The rôle of the House of Commons is growing secondary. Even the habeas corpus principle has to be

defended by special leagues and funds, just as in the period of dark reaction at the end of the eighteenth century.

In what country is similar retrogression not to be noticed? The war started in the name of defending the rights of small countries and nationalities. Therein lies the great irony of it. Particularly to the small countries and nationalities has it been disastrous. It has proved that the time for small nations is past, that world history has entered a stage where units will consist of coalitions of nations, bound politically and economically. Not only small nations, but even individual large nations, cannot longer exist outside of the coming powerful political combinations.

"This war will be the last. After it will come eternal peace." This theory, popular a year and a half ago, seems at present, more than at any previous time, but a subtle or naïve irony. Of course, in Europe a temporary weariness of war is possible, especially because of the financial disorganization and economic chaos, but even in the case of such a calm there will be military problems on hand. The beginning of the peaceful period that is to come after the war will also mark the beginning of a new war, a commercial, tariff war. In itself not bloody, it may cause another bloody conflict; and it will fall most heavily on the shoulders of those who bear the chief burden of the present catastrophe.

Human Nature and the War

By Principal L. P. Jacks

Dean of Manchester College, Oxford, and Editor of the Hibbert Journal

Dr. Jacks has contributed to a recent issue of Land and Water an incisive article, in which he says:

IN the two years during which the war has been in progress a number of men, women, and children, roughly equal to the total population of London, has been killed. Perhaps five times as many have been wounded, making with the killed a total not far short of the population of Great Britain. What it has cost in material wealth to accomplish this result would be hard to say; probably \$75,000,000,000 is well within the mark.

For what end has this been done?—to repeat the question of Little Peterkin. It has been done in order to settle a type of quarrel which, had it broken out between six reasonable men with some sense of humor, instead of between six great "powers," with no "power" of understanding each other, would have been settled in a quarter of an hour.

Looking at the matter in this way most people would agree that we are in the presence of something essentially irrational. Reason is said to be the pre-

rogative of man. The war—not the word, not the idea, but the thing in its concrete horror—is a strange comment on the prerogative.

Suppose we were to cut the war out as a single chapter in the history of man's doings on this planet and set ourselves to deduce from this chapter a theory as to the nature of the beings who did these things. Or suppose we were suddenly endowed with a power of vision to see the war, not through the medium of statistics or newspaper reports but as a living fact in all the length and breadth and detail of its dreadful truth—and then, with that vision fresh before us, set ourselves to write out a testimonial to the character of man, to be delivered to the angels or to the inhabitants of some other planet on which the human race had applied for a situation. Should we not come to the conclusion that man is thoroughly and hopelessly insane? Should we not warn the angels against having anything to do with a race of lunatics so dangerous?

We have come to this—that about

three hundred million human beings on this side and two hundred million on that are now engaged in trying to inflict upon each other the greatest possible amount of death, mutilation, and material loss, and have so far succeeded as to kill or wound forty millions and to destroy \$75,000,000,000 worth of wealth at the very least. As a test case of what man is, and what he is capable of, we shall look in vain for any single episode or revealing action that will tell a more eloquent tale about man—that is, if we are to judge him by what he does rather than by what he says, as surely we ought to do. We could not hesitate as to the conclusion to be drawn from such premises. To conclude that human nature is brutal, or wicked, or selfish, or cruel would not be enough. Human nature, we should have to say, is plainly mad. Insanity and not reason is the prerogative of man.

A friend of mine who has reflected deeply on the war, and written about it more wisely than any other Englishman, remarked the other day: "During the early months of the war I often had the feeling that I was in hell already—in fact, that we were all in hell together without knowing it. But that feeling has passed away. I now believe that I am in Bedlam—which perhaps is only a particular province of hell." That feeling is widespread, though vague and undefined. Even our soldiers at the front, keen as they are to do their duty, often speak in their letters of the "mad business" on which they are engaged. * * *

From these conclusions there would seem to be no escape—if we accept the view that human nature is really responsible for what is going on. But, I hasten to say, human nature is not responsible for it—and venture to think that until this is realized the profoundest political lesson of the war will be missed. Human nature has been dragged into this business against its will, its intelligence, its instincts. A "spell" has been put upon it.

To charge the horrors of the present time to the brute passions of man's nature, to his want of right-mindedness or of self-control, is to commit a libel

on man and to let the real sinner go free. In human nature there is nothing whatever which could lead, under any conceivable circumstances, to such orgies of bloodshed and mutilation as the slopes of Verdun and many other places have recently witnessed. Human nature is from first to last in revolt against the whole proceeding. It is not human nature which does these things, but State nature—a very different thing. To love one's native land and be willing to die for it is one thing, perhaps the noblest in man; to love a soulless machine called "the State" is another, and I for one have never met a human being in England or anywhere else who was capable of so unnatural a passion.

Modern States are not human. They are stupid monsters without conscience, without soul, without feeling. As to intelligence, they lack even that modest amount of it which would enable them to understand one another. Not understanding one another, and unable to do so, their mutual relations are like those of a number of icebergs floating on the same sea, which may at any moment be flung into collision by the drift of invisible currents. It is the paradox of the world's history that the great States formed by the combined intelligence of their members have so little intelligence in their relations with one another. The human nature which is in each member of the State, and stands on the whole for right-mindedness and neighborly relations, disappears in the total combination of all the members, and a vast agglomeration comes into being, of which the outstanding feature is that it lacks a soul.

There are many who regard the war as betokening the need for a radical change in the nature of man—in his ideals, his habits, his passions. And certainly this would be a sound inference from the facts if human nature were really responsible for the war—only in that case I think we should have to go further and demand the total extinction of man as unfit to live on the planet, on the same principle that we demand the extermination of a mad dog. But believing as I do that responsibility for

the war rests elsewhere, I see no need for any radical change in human nature, nor do I think that it is going to take place. What human nature needs is not a radical change but a fair opportunity, an opportunity for expressing itself not only in the relations between man and man, where it has already established some kind of rational order, but in the relations between States which, as things now are, constitute a mere Bedlam world.

What does need changing is State nature, for State nature is the cause of all these woes. We have been under a monstrous delusion about the State—almost hypnotized by the word—and it is the mission of the war, among other things, to bring this home to our intelligence. For two generations and more the pundits of the western world have been groveling on their bellies before this abstraction, this monster, this idol. It is a worship made, so far as modern times are concerned, in Germany, and it is worthy of its origin. We have been taught that the evolution of the State is the culminating achievement of man's rationality and of his goodness. And so no doubt it might be if a different kind of State from any that is now in existence had been evolved. But of the actual States now in being nine-tenths of what the philosophers teach about the rationality of "the State," of its quasi-divinity, are not only untrue but the flat opposite of the truth.

Whatever the State may be, these States are not something higher than the individual, but something vastly lower than any individual. There is not one of them in which the human interests of its constituent members is not at the mercy of that brute, inhuman, Bedlam world which is constituted by the relations of the various States with one another. There is not one of them which, when standing in the presence of its

neighbor States, can be said to represent human nature in its intelligence, in its affections, or even in its passions. For, as we have seen, they do not even understand one another. The lions roaring to each other in the forests, the starlings chattering on the tree tops are at a higher level of mutual comprehension than are "the States" of civilized Europe. And the proof is that when a quarrel arises which half a dozen sensible men could settle in ten minutes over a pipe of tobacco, these "great powers" have no resource but to tear one another to pieces in a manner of which the lowest of the brute beasts are quite incapable. Are they not stupid monsters? The very monkeys must despise them.

A proposal has been made to insure perpetual peace by a new piece of machinery—a federation of all the States controlled by a World Parliament. It is a proposal which leaves me cold. It reminds me of the reason once given by an Irishman as the crowning argument in favor of home rule. "When we get a united Ireland and a Parliament of our own, faith we'll have some fine quarrels." Were such a federation constituted out of such States as at present exist in the world it would split into two parties over every question submitted to its decision, and would quarrel at once, and quarrel always. The picture so often presented of all the States combining automatically to keep in order any member of the group which might threaten to break the peace is a fiction, which would be replaced in reality by powerful and balanced parties, plotting each other's overthrow and ready to attempt it, if need be, by force of arms. The federation of the world would be a cockpit of civil war. Before any such form of internationalism can be successfully attempted a preliminary step must be a complete change of nature in each of the combining States.



Italian Socialism and the War

By Ivanoe Bonomi

Minister of Public Works in the Italian Cabinet

Signor Bonomi, a Moderate Socialist, recently contributed to the *Messaggero* of Rome an article of which we here give the substance.

THE Italian Socialist Party is the only one among those of the great nations of Europe that persists in an obstinate campaign against the war. In order to make a true analysis of this curious fact it is necessary to adopt the historical method, that is, to bring into relief the special character of Italian socialism and of the human material of which it is formed.

Official Italian socialism, in contradistinction to socialism in other countries, is in large part agricultural. It recruits its adherents especially in the country, and more definitely in the rich agricultural country that from the hills of the Placentino and of Monferrato slopes down along the banks of the Po to the sea, touching Padua and Venice on the north and reaching as far as Ravenna and Forli on the south.

Of course, the larger industrial cities also contain many soldiers of the socialist army, but the working class population of the cities is not a fertile field for the anti-war propaganda.

In Milan as in Genoa, in Turin as in Bologna, socialism, now occupying important political positions, is no longer the master of the street. Its undisputed rule is found in the country. In the rich Valley of the Po it is absolute master. In the fields socialism does not allow the preaching of any doctrine different from its own, which is against the war, against those who have brought it on, against those who carry it on, against those who see any value in it.

He would commit a grave error who would affirm that misery afflicts this population and is the cause of all this. The richness of the soil and of agricultural industry permits the wage worker easily to obtain in the Valley of the Po increases that the peasants of the south stare at in surprise and envy.

Intellectual conditions have also made

progress in line with the material gains. There is no longer an agricultural proletariat there enslaved by ignorance and superstition and at the mercy of the bosses. There we find citizens, nearly all of whom read the newspapers, are interested in politics, capture the local administrations, and send Socialists to the Chamber of Deputies.

The mind of the farmers is fertile soil for the propaganda of official socialism. Up to the present the country districts of Italy have been absent from our history and our life. Roman society was an urban society. Our communes reinvigorated the Latin spirit and put the districts surrounding the cities under the committees ruling in the cities during the period of our national revolution. The country districts were hostile and indifferent while our national unity was being constituted.

Italy appeared to be divided into two different peoples—the bourgeoisie and the artisans in the cities, and the peasants in the country. The cities fomented the insurrections and spread the desire of liberty through the masses of the people. The country remained faithful to the idea of immobility and to tradition. The cities accomplished the revolution; the country endured it. Only during the last few decades have the slow influence of economic environment and the educating effect of the schools been able to bring together the two different peoples that had encountered each other at the gates of our cities.

City and country have now become Italy, and the moral unity of our race is being cemented today with blood upon the Alps. But in the Valley of the Po the development of the agricultural populace into a nation followed a peculiar course. The soul of the peasant, innocent of every sentiment of patriotism, could not help but accept the socialist

message without resistance, the only doctrine descended to him up to today.

All this is neither a justification nor a condemnation. It is the verification of

what causes the present sorry propaganda of official socialism, and it accuses our national revolution of having neglected the country districts.

A Silent Revolution in England

By the Editor of The Round Table

DURING the last two months a change has come over the people of England so noteworthy, and yet so silent and indefinable, as to deserve attention in these pages; for no outside observer could discover it for himself from our newspapers, nor could he easily interpret it from the external demeanor of the population in street or train or office.

It is a change of which most men and women are aware within themselves and of which, if they are observant and sensitive, they are conscious also in those around them, but which few care to acknowledge, still less to analyze, for to do so would stir the depths, and that the Englishman dislikes.

This silent revolution is the reaction upon Britain of the great advance.

* * * It is a change which is strangely compounded of the spirit of hope and the spirit of sacrifice—of the sense of coming victory and the ache of personal loss. We know now that the empire and what it stands for are saved, that the old country will "carry on" for generations to come. But we know, too, that for tens of thousands life has henceforth lost much of its personal meaning, that there are gaps in the home circle which will never be filled, and that life will be a lonely pilgrimage to the end.

Personal affections and ambitions have made way for a bigger cause. Life seems wider and more impersonal. Our fellow-countrymen seem nearer to us. Rank and class seem to count for less. All have suffered alike and all have served alike, and all have the same world to live in and to repair—a world that seems lonely at times beyond all bearing, yet is lit up with the flame of sacrifice and the undying memory of those who are gone.

Many have discovered for the first time what every foreigner sees, and what every Briton from across the oceans knows, that the British are not a nation as the French are a nation, because the revolution of social equality has never yet been made.

The great mass of the nation are fighting even now not for an England which is themselves, but for an England which inherits noble traditions and fine qualities, but which is separated from them by the impalpable barrier of caste. This separation, which has added bitterness to every political and economic dispute, has been wonderfully bridged in the trenches. There is a growing sense that it must be bridged at home.

Social superiority and privilege must give way to common humanity and common sacrifice. In future we must be a more united and a more equal people than we have been in the past.

The effects of these tendencies are still obscure, but they are already to be seen in the program of the work allotted by the Government to the Reconstruction Committee, presided over by the Prime Minister. The subjects that are being inquired into by that body, working through a number of carefully manned sub-committees, cover a very wide range of social and economic interest.

The two most important of these are certainly education and the organization of industry. It has already been announced that a committee presided over by Lord Crewe, the new President of the Board of Education, has been appointed to review the whole question of national education in the light of the war. The industrial inquiry, it may be imagined, will be on a similarly comprehensive scale.

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

"Inasmuch as Ye Have Done It Unto the Least of These—"

This is the story of one ordinary man—Frank Ghiloni—and of how the diplomatic machinery of three great nations was kept in operation for a year and a half to save him from injustice. The citizenship laws of Italy and the naturalization laws of the United States are in conflict at one point, and this conflict forced the son of a humble Italian immigrant into the European war against his will. That the Government of 100,000,000 people should go to his rescue, compelling the Governments of two other nations of 36,000,000 and 50,000,000 people to take cognizance of this obscure individual's rights as an American citizen, is a lesson in the meaning of true democracy.

AN official volume of diplomatic correspondence is hardly the place to look for a romance, but occasionally one can be extracted even from these dry reports. The third White Paper of the United States Government on the European war, recently issued, embraces all the correspondence with belligerent Governments relating to neutral rights and duties for the year ended with June, 1916.

The correspondence covering the military service case of Frank Ghiloni relates to the question of dual nationality and develops a real human interest episode. It opens with a cablegram from Secretary Bryan to Ambassador Thomas Nelson Page at Rome, dated Jan. 13, 1915, informing the Ambassador in effect that Frank L. Ghiloni, born at Marlborough, Mass., Aug. 4, 1885, is under arrest at Barga, Italy; that his father had been naturalized in 1886, and that Frank had been a clerk in his father's store.

No reply being received, Secretary Bryan again cabled the Ambassador on Jan. 21, urging promptness, and on Jan. 22 received formal acknowledgment, stating that steps were being taken to obtain the young man's release. On March 25 Secretary Bryan again cabled inquiring the status of the case, and the Ambassador replied next day that his requests for the release of Ghiloni had not been acted on. On May 6 Secretary Bryan again cabled for information. On May 18 Ambassador Page replied

that the Italian Minister of War declined to exempt Ghiloni from liability to military service.

On June 18 Secretary Bryan cabled Ambassador Page protesting against this decision. He said Ghiloni had resided ten years in Italy during childhood, but had returned to the United States at the age of 12, and lived here continuously until June, 1914, when his physician had ordered him to Italy for his health. His father had been naturalized when Ghiloni was less than 1 year old. Mr. Bryan pointed out that, according to our laws, Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he was domiciled in this country when he became of age in 1906; had evidently made practical election of American nationality, and was visiting Italy only for a temporary purpose. Ambassador Page cabled on June 11 that the Secretary's message had been presented to the Foreign Office with a request for early action.

On July 20 Robert Lansing took up the case and sent a long cablegram to Mr. Page, asking an early decision in the Ghiloni case. He repeated that Ghiloni was born a citizen of the United States; that he chose American nationality, and that this choice "should be recognized in cases of persons born of dual nationality, whether or not the municipal laws of the countries concerned prescribe definite modes of election. This Government has no desire to intervene in cases of persons who were born in the United States of Italian parents, but were domiciled in

Italy upon attaining their majority, are still domiciled there, and have evidently elected Italian nationality."

Aug. 13 Mr. Page reported that Ghiloni was under arms, but that his case was being investigated. On Aug. 27 Mr. Page cabled that the Foreign Office sustained the Minister of War, holding that Ghiloni, "even if he had during his minority lost his Italian citizenship, in consequence of the naturalization obtained in the United States by his father, the fact would not have exempted him from military service in Italy under Article XII. of the Civil Code."

On Sept. 4 Secretary Lansing asked further news of Ghiloni, adding: "His friends are importunate." Mr. Page cabled at once that as Ghiloni was said to be in poor health, it was hoped he would be exempted from military duty on this account. On the 5th he reported, however, that the Italian War Office refused to release Ghiloni because he had been born prior to his father's naturalization.

State messages on this case continued to pass under the Atlantic during October, but Ghiloni's release was definitely refused by the Italian military authorities.

In the meantime the young man was wounded and taken prisoner by the Austrians and was interned in an Austrian prison camp at Mautheusen. Acting Secretary of State Polk on Jan. 8, 1916, cabled the facts in the case to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, directing him to inform the Austrian authorities that Ghiloni was an American citizen, though this was not conceded by Italy, and asked that he be released and returned to this country.

On Feb. 18 Secretary Lansing again cabled Ambassador Penfield to emphasize the fact that Ghiloni was "born an American citizen, was impressed into the Italian Army, and was serving against his wishes. His mother is seriously ill because of his plight."

Mr. Penfield cabled on March 14 that the Austrian Ministry inquired what guarantee could be given that Ghiloni "will not bear arms against monarchy or allies during present war in case of

his release." The Secretary of State asked what guarantee would be required, and again called attention to the records showing that Ghiloni was impressed into the Italian Army and did not volunteer.

Secretary Lansing also cabled Ambassador Page on March 23, calling attention to the Italian law on citizenship promulgated June 30, 1912, which provides that "an Italian citizen born and residing in a foreign nation which considers him to be a citizen of its own retains still Italian citizenship, but he may abandon it when he becomes of age." He asked whether "this provision is not applicable to persons born in the United States of Italian parents, provided such persons were domiciled in this country upon attaining their majority, and evidently elected American rather than Italian nationality."

On March 27 Ambassador Penfield cabled that Austria would not release Ghiloni "except under assumption that American Government first cause Italian Government to recognize Ghiloni's American citizenship; otherwise, after being discharged he might again be compelled by Italy to perform military service against Austria or her allies."

Secretary Lansing cabled on March 31, asking the release of Ghiloni upon his sworn statement that he would return to the United States immediately and not leave this country during the continuance of the war.

On April 25 Secretary Lansing asked whether Austria would release Ghiloni on the assurance of the United States Secretary of State that a passport would not be issued to him to leave the United States during continuance of the war.

Ambassador Penfield cabled May 5 that Austria agreed to release Ghiloni on his affidavit that he would not again bear arms against Austria or her allies; that he would be repatriated by way of Scandinavia, Holland, or Germany, and that a guarantee should be given by the United States that the Entente Powers should not seize Ghiloni and compel him to do military service.

On May 8 Ambassador Penfield was authorized to agree to the first two conditions for the release of Ghiloni; the

United States, however, could not give an absolute guarantee as to the third. It did not believe Ghiloni would be seized by the Entente Powers, did not recognize their right to do so, and if he were seized would demand his immediate release.

On June 19 Ambassador Penfield

cabled that Ghiloni had been released and delivered to the American Embassy, and that he would return to the United States via Scandinavia. Forty-one official transatlantic messages, with the assistance of fate, had at last availed to snatch one man from the maelstrom.

A Perilous Escape by Sea

Two Siberian petty officers, prisoners of war in Germany, made a daring and successful escape across the Baltic into Denmark, whence they were sent to Petrograd. There they told their story to a correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya*, who wrote the narrative here presented to readers of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

THE two Siberians, Gregory Dalmatoff and Alexander Ralnikoff, met in the Altdam camp for prisoners of war. They were captured, the first in 1914, the second in 1915. This year the majority of the prisoners had been sent out by the Germans to do agricultural labor. It was left to the Russian war prisoners exclusively to work on this Summer's crops. Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff were sent to work in Pomerania, in the neighborhood of Greutzneberg, not far from the Baltic coast, between Kolberg and Kammin. They were placed on the estate of an elderly woman. Life became much easier. The watch over them was not as rigid as in the camp, but they were compelled to work from morning till night.

The intention to escape never for a moment left the two Siberians. Ralnikoff had studied German in the camp for that purpose. Twice he made attempts to escape, but without success. The first time he deserted the camp on July 27, 1915. Living on potatoes, he and four comrades traveled 150 miles in twelve days. Then one night in an open field they stumbled against a powder magazine and a German sentinel. At first the sentinel was confused by the sudden encounter, and when he began to shoot they were already hiding in the bushes. Their lives were saved, but they were caught. Fourteen days of imprisonment with hands and feet chained, however, did not dampen the energy of the Siberian.

Two months afterward Ralnikoff again

started on a risky enterprise with some comrades, and reached the resort Murtz-bart. There they were again caught when about to enter a boat. They were punished with twenty-eight days' confinement, under heavy guard, in a dark, cold cell on half a pound of bread daily with water. The torture was not light. Immediately after release the leader was dispatched to work again.

The other Siberian, Dalmatoff, was also an adventurous fellow. Hardened by outdoor life, accustomed to freedom, he could not bear imprisonment. Three days after being captured he made an attempt to jump off a moving train which was going from Mitau to the interior of Germany. The train was stopped and the prisoner caught.

Finding themselves on the estate of the elderly lady, the two minds became active again, with a view to escaping. Circumstances favored them. Each night they were locked up together with the horses in a stable, where quarters were made for them, and the woman inspected the lock every evening. The window was protected by an iron net.

For several days the two prisoners saved portions of their black bread for the expected journey. On the night of June 6, when all were asleep in the house, they broke through the window and climbed out. The road was familiar to them, as they had driven along it on several occasions. They walked till the early morning without mishap. At about 6 o'clock they hid themselves in the grain on the edge of a field. Within a

few yards of them, without suspecting it, Russian war prisoners were laboring. Till 5 in the afternoon no one noticed them.

After dinner a woman, evidently the lady of the estate, in the company of her son, a youngster, came out into the field. The boy soon directed himself toward the wheat to pick wild flowers. His mother came after him, and stumbled against the two men hiding there. She was so frightened that for some minutes she stood there unable to utter a sound. Meanwhile the two men took to their heels. Luckily, there were no soldiers in the vicinity. The two Germans in charge of the Russian laborers would not risk leaving them unguarded in order to go hunting for the two Siberians. The woman ran to the village, while the men were looking for a ditch in the grain-field in which to hide. A hunt after them was inevitable.

Crawling on the ground, Ralnikoff and Dalmatoff advanced a few hundred feet, and then hid again to see what was coming. Toward evening sounds of male and female voices reached them. Dogs were also accompanying them. Slowly the voices died away in the distance. Slightly raising their heads, the two men saw some gendarmes in the back-ground.

On the third night the sea was reached. Walking northward along the shore of a small bay, the escaped prisoners were looking for a boat. In one place they discovered some excellent fishing boats, but a guard was keeping watch over them. They walked for another seven or eight miles, and were rejoiced to discover a small boat with oars. On the shore a tiny village was situated. Ascertaining that no one was watching them, the two men stole into a garden, where they found an old pail. This they filled with drinking water from the well, and took it to the boat and shoved out to sea.

Never before had these men from the Siberian steppes set eyes upon the sea. They did not know how to row, but they learned quickly. Then they discovered that the boat was leaking. Cutting off the corks from a rope lying in the boat,

they filled the hole. Far to the west the signal lights of German ships were glowing. Risking the danger of falling in the way of a mine-layer, they kept on northward, verifying their direction by the compass in the light of the lamp. Toward morning a favoring wind began to blow. They spread a coat on two oars, thus getting a semblance of a sail. The boat ran faster. Suddenly some fighting craft appeared on the horizon. It was necessary to hide. They hauled down the "sail" quickly, and heavily took to the oars. The vessels evidently did not notice the small boat, for they soon disappeared from view.

The coast behind them was seen no longer, and the boat got into a strong current, which tossed it violently. The wind was increasing. Big waves were rising and washing over the sides. The inexperienced Siberians were seized by seasickness. Terrible headaches and vomiting forced them to drop their oars now and then. Besides, a wave filled their pail with sea water, and they had nothing to drink. They tasted the sea water, and their thirst only grew more painful. Toward night the storm grew more violent. The boat was being carried westward. With superhuman efforts, they again tried to row.

The second night on the sea arrived—a bleak, awful, and lonely night. A terrible fight for life had commenced. The boat was being thrown about like a feather. Dalmatoff vomited blood. At times the two brave fellows felt like jumping overboard to escape further torment. Ralnikoff was now rowing alone. Finally, he also dropped the oars and gave himself up to the current. Fortunately, the storm was abating by this time. The waves were diminishing in force. The Siberians in turn used the bottom of the boat for a resting place. When day came they found it horrifying to look at each other's face. Yellow, exhausted, with cheeks sunken, the two men resembled ghosts from another world. Their strength was gone. They began to lose all hope. They did not know how far the current had carried them to the west.

They now moved to the north, dream-

ing of a steamer to pick them up, but no vessels were in sight. Toward noon they noticed swans flying northward. They were overjoyed, seeing in this a sign of the proximity of land. They plucked up their last powers and directed the boat to the northwest. Finally, they noticed a black point on the horizon. It was land, but whether an island or part of the continent, and of what country, they knew not. The joy of a speedy salvation injected new power in their veins, and after thirty-six hours of rocking on the waves of the Baltic they reached land.

Exhausted, they dropped on the shore. There was a hamlet not far off. A

woman saw two men fall to the ground and hastened to their aid. She soon brought out coffee to them. Of food they could have nothing at the time. Very soon the whole village turned out to see the Russian prisoners who had escaped from Germany. They questioned the refugees in Danish and shouted "Russland, England, Denmark, lieb, lieb, hurrah!"

The prisoners were placed in a cabin near the beach. All expressed amazement at their courage to brave such a storm. They were given medical treatment, allowed to recuperate, and were sent to Russia. They gratefully recall the kindnesses of the Danes to them.

The Comforts of Home—in Trench Dugouts

By a British Private

THE first night in trenches I slept with a friend in a small, box-like hole, six feet long and a yard square—and we were wearing greatcoats and full equipment minus pack and haversack. Our method of entrance was for me to crawl in first and for my friend to wriggle over me, pulling himself along by my belt, my equipment, and my face. We lay squashing each other and breathing on each other, more uncomfortable than ever in our lives, but we were tired—and we slept. They pulled us out by our feet.

The next night was something similar, only a little more so. This time it was a tiny hole that held one's head and shoulders. I got in first, and I was awakened by the wet greatcoat of a comrade rubbing gently over my face. He had gone to sleep on a firing step and had been awakened by snow and sleet when he was wet through. He had then come to join me in my hole. How bitterly I cursed him! And I remember I insisted on his crawling out to divest himself of his overcoat before allowing him to settle down. Poor lad! One alone could curl up in the hole, but with two one had to lie stretched out. My legs from the knees downward were in the slush outside, and every one who passed

by—and it seemed as if half the British Army passed that hole that night—trode on me.

In our next spell in trenches we had no dugout at all. We made one. We called it a dugout. Really it was merely a shelter. It was three feet high, two deep, and six long. The top was of corrugated iron, the sides of water-proof sheets, the seat (for we could only sit in it with our feet and legs dangling in the trench) of earth, and the supports were sticks. In it four of us had our being, when off duty, for several days. And we imagined ourselves much safer than when in the open!

Oh, innocence!

My next home in the trenches was a wooden box, rectangular, four feet high, six wide, and twelve long. Ten of us lived there. The only way we could occupy it was by all sitting on our haunches with our knees to our chins.

I remember I was fortunate enough to occupy a rum jar which, however, continually rolled from beneath me, but the dugout sticks in my memory mainly because I nearly broke my back in continually stooping double.

From this time onward my fortune in dugouts improved. I found one in a spot that was a little higher inside, that

was better protected by sandbags, that boasted a brazier! Four of us lived there. One was a director of a building firm, with a pretty turn for cutting tins, and he constructed a chimney and an oven out of biscuit and jam tins. We rigged up a shelf, too. This was our luckiest dugout, for one of our four contracted German measles and we were isolated and forbidden to do any work! We became skilled in auction bridge.

But I had been out at the front three months before I occupied a real dugout. One entered it backward in a sliding fashion—for the steps were merging into each other—and we found it deep and cool—too cool—and dark, and, fortunately for us, able to withstand minenwerfers, (trench mortars,) shells, rifle grenades, and whizz-bangs. My stove, on which I was boiling water, was put out three times and our candles twelve times by concussion on our first morning there. Also a lump of shell, weighing

two or three pounds, visited us down the steps. Yes, it was an excellent dugout. Fourteen of us lived there. The man opposite to me sat on a red plush, ornamented, decrepit, drawing-room chair—where it came from I cannot imagine, unless it was from some ruined and deserted house near by long since destroyed altogether. I sat and slept on a petrol tin.

Not every soldier likes dugouts. I have a friend who hates them. Always since a boy he has been obsessed with dreams of walls closing in upon him. One night not long ago he dreamed that the dugout he was in had collapsed and crushed him. In the morning he examined the supports, and partly because he concluded it was not altogether safe and partly because of the vivid nature of the dream, he removed his kit, and persuaded his companions to do likewise. Not an hour afterward the dugout slid forward and fell in.

The Maori in France

By a British Correspondent

IN the green lanes of France you may meet at any time with men of all colors. There are black men marching there, brown men and bronze, besides all the English and French soldiery. A while ago a long column swung along the road to the tune of a melody sung in time to the marching feet. The tune you would know, but the words would be new to you, or at least seem so.

*He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
He tino mamao,
He roa te wa ki Tipirere,
Ki taku kotiro,
E noho pikatiri,
Hei kona rehita koea,
He mamao rawa Tipirere
Ka tae ahua.*

It is an old friend in new guise, and the last words of the first line will tell you that it is none other than "Tipperary." But what is the tongue that it is sung in and what of the men that sing it?

On the under side of the world there is a land where the trees never turn yellow; where the Summer is a fair

division of the year, with a month and a half thrown in for good measure. It is a land of big spaces, full, broad rivers, and turquoise lakes. In the south there are great mountains with their peaks clothed in perpetual snow and their glaciers moving toward the sun-bathed plains. In the interior there lived a race of chivalrous warriors who fought a great fight against British troops. Now New Zealand is as British as Sussex, and the spirit of the dark-skinned fighters who took up arms against the redcoats has come to France in the Maori contingent.

When the war came to New Zealand it found one Maori boy dwelling beside the waters of Lake Taupo. He was happy as he could be and not overworked. He had been taught English by the Catholic priest of Waihi, and he could read the papers slowly, but sufficiently well to tell that here was a great adventure offered him. He sat one night reading from the cables how the Germans had

thrown our army back from Mons. He did not know where Mons was, but he knew that men were wanted. * * * He took his younger brother out to the potato paddock and gave him detailed instructions as to what he was to do if the kumaras were by any chance ready for digging before he came back from settling the King's affairs. He shook hands solemnly with his grandfather and performed the "hongi," rubbing his own flat nose on the tattooed face of the old man.

He shouldered his bundle and walked to Waioura, and then he took a train. In ten days he was wearing a khaki jacket and a helmet and doing tedious drill on a hard-trodden square. Then, after the allotted space of training, he was embarked with his fellows, all of his own race, and the long journey to Egypt commenced. Arrived at Gallipoli he got his first taste of fighting, and heredity came uppermost. Disregarding all that an impressive Sergeant Major had drummed into his head, he forgot that a bayonet was for use at close quarters. He was sent with the other Maoris on a little piece of work that demanded much steadiness and the utmost quiet. They stealthily crept along to attack the Turk. It was to be a surprise attack, and the rifles were not to be fired. It was a surprise, and Honé went into the thick of the mêlée with his rifle clubbed like the "tiaha" or the "teko-teko" of his forebears. It was hard work, but orders were obeyed, and there were no noises but the sound of hard breathing and the thud of the rifle stocks and the cries of the wounded. Their object was achieved, and that night on the beach under Walker's they sat and talked in their own tongue of the glories of that half hour.

Then they came to France, and we find them swinging along between the high poplars to the tune of "Tipperary," sung sweetly in their soft voices and with the perfect time that all Polynesian races are able to put into their music. Honé came, too, and here he is at the head of the column with two stripes on his sleeve. As he marches he wishes wistfully that his old grandfather and little Hori, his brother, could see him now and could have heard the cheers that greeted them in the streets of the first French town they passed through.

Once more he was in the thick of things, but this time he did not march back to the bivouac. A stretcher carried him to the waiting motor ambulance and he was hurried to the hospital, where a surgeon shook his head sadly over him.

He lay there for two days, but his spirit was already half round the world to the quiet lakeside where the white sand is washed by waters as blue as the clear sky. He thought himself back at Taupo sitting under the shade of the manuka bushes. The steam from the hot pools in the ti-tree was wafted across the water and the boiling mud geysers chuckled and gurgled like goblins as he told his brother and the old man of how he had fought the Turk and the Germans. The nurse at the other end of the ward was suddenly conscious of soft singing, and as she came along the passageway between the beds she heard that the voice was Honé's. She, too, knew the tune, but the words were strange to her. "He roa te wa ki Tipirere, he tino mamao," he sang. And then, as the little boiling pools chuckled and laughed softly and the note of a distant bell-bird came across the arm of the lake from Waitanui, he closed his eyes and his spirit went to the place where all good warriors go.

French Schools in Alsace

THERE are now flourishing French schools in the portion of Alsace occupied by General Joffre's troops. In the single district of T. 6,000 little Alsatians are learning to use the language which the German Government

had prohibited in the common schools. French could be taught privately outside of the German schools, but this made it a luxury accessible only to the children of well-to-do parents. Now, according to an article in the *Bulletin des Armées*, the

population is eager to seize the opportunity to acquire the proscribed language. Already the little boy or girl of the fam-



ily, returning from school, is serving as interpreter between the parents and the soldiers lodged in the house.

The installation of the schools is very picturesque. It has been necessary to open temporary classes in cellars, barns, tents, or even in forest glades. In several villages the schoolhouse has had to

be abandoned. The roof is crushed in, the glass is shattered from the windows, the rooms are full of *débris*. Through the little window of a basement, however, come childish voices, singing "*Il était une bergère*," and in a setting which recalls the old schools of 1830 you see a soldier or a nun surrounded by a group of children. Sometimes it happens that the song is interrupted by the screech of a shell, and then everybody descends to the cellar, where the boys avenge themselves for having felt the wind of fear by singing the "*Marseillaise*."

The school life is so closely mingled with the military life that the teachers, no matter what their station, feel like soldiers. And so do the pupils. Most of them have adopted the French uniform, not without fantasy and variety. One might say that every army corps, all arms, and all ranks are represented in each class. Very often the schoolhouse itself is divided between the children and the soldiers. In the corridors or the court the urchins and *poilus* rub elbows and have grown very fond of each other. The little boys already have very decided ideas as to the regiment or army which they will choose when the time comes for them to serve France. The little girls devote themselves to caring for the graves of soldiers who have fallen for their country.

The Death Plunge of a Zeppelin

A Night Episode Near London

THIRTEEN Zeppelin airships took part in a raid over the eastern counties of England on the night of Saturday, Sept. 2, the most formidable aerial attack thus far recorded in history. Three of the great airships reached the outskirts of London, where their bombs killed a man and a woman, and injured eleven other persons, including two children. The dramatic and spectacular feature of the episode was the destruction of one of these three invaders high in air by a British youth of 21, Lieutenant Robinson, who got above

it in an aeroplane and sent it flaming to earth with its doomed German crew of sixteen men. As London's millions saw it fall, it was a historic night for that city. One eyewitness thus describes the event:

"I was awakened about 2:30 o'clock Sunday morning by the information that gunfire was going on. Looking from my windows I saw the flashes of the guns in all directions. In a certain direction especially there was a great display of searchlights. Suddenly there appeared a glow in the sky which in-

creased in intensity until it became something like a great star. This clearly assumed the shape of a Zeppelin at a great height. It looked like a mass of molten metal such as one sees falling out of a furnace pipe, or a bar of polished steel about the thickness of an engine piston rod. It seemed to remain motionless and undecided which way to go while the guns peppered it without cessation.

"Shells burst around it, in front and behind, above and below, and it made a turn as if to go in the direction of the coast, but a shell burst ominously near its nose and caused it to swing around in the opposite direction.

"Then away up there in the centre of the ball of light something happened. It seemed as if a black shadow passed between our vision and the brilliant light. In the sky when we looked again the airship had gone. Firing ceased and the searchlights, splitting their focused rays, shot backward and forward across the firmament, but the Zeppelin was gone. Under cover of a cloud of smoke she had made a wild dash upward beyond the ray of light and through the ring of bursting shells.

"Suddenly, away further to the north, a ball of fire in the sky riveted our attention. The ball spread in size, and there was a great explosion. The whole of London, north, south, east, and west, was illuminated by the one flash. The dome of St. Paul's and the towers at Westminster, hitherto obscured, stood out with remarkable clearness, and for a brief second it looked as if a panorama of the whole of London had been thrown upon a screen in a darkened hall.

"There was no need now to speculate as to the fate of the invader. Persons who came out into the streets raised cheer after cheer and sang the national anthem. The burning Zeppelin could now be seen falling nose downward to the earth like a huge blazing caldron from which poured a spray of sparks."

The airship fell near the hamlet of Cuffley, fifteen miles from London and not far from Enfield, where the rifles of that name are made, and where the factory was undoubtedly the objective of the

raider. A resident of the farm on which it fell says it came down like a huge incandescent mantle with an orange centre of flame. It fell headlong with a terrible, tearing sound, and struck the ground with a crash that could be heard for miles around.

When daylight came sixteen charred bodies were taken out of the débris and laid in a row on the grass, where 100,000 people from London came flocking to see them. The crowds went out afoot, in taxicabs, motor cars, charabancs, pony carts—anything to reach the picturesque country spot where lay the mangled airship. A never-ceasing string of motor cars, dashing along the fifteen-mile ruin from London to Cuffley, aroused memories of the days when the cup races used to be run. So thick were the motor cars that at many spots along the way they became choked in the roads so that travel was badly clogged.

On the morning after the event it was discovered that the Zeppelin had been brought to earth, not by the anti-aircraft guns below, but by an intrepid boy in a biplane—Lieutenant Leete Robinson of the Royal Flying Corps—who has since received the Victoria Cross.

This was the first Zeppelin brought down on English soil, (one was destroyed off the mouth of the Thames a few months ago,) hence Lieutenant Robinson received cash rewards aggregating \$3,000 which had been offered by private individuals for this achievement.

The bodies of the German youths who had given up their lives on this dangerous expedition were buried on Sept. 6 in the little country cemetery amid the hayfields about Cuffley, with simple Church of England services, followed by the sounding of taps, as arranged by the Royal Flying Corps. The bodies of the fifteen privates were laid in one large grave, while that of the commander was buried separately in a coffin whose inscription revealed the number of the airship:

"An unknown German officer killed while commanding the L-21, Sept. 3, 1916."

Deportation of Civilians in Occupied French Territory

The French Government has issued a White Book addressed to neutral nations, in which it protests against certain illegal acts of the German military authorities toward the civilian population in the French departments occupied by the enemy. During the days just before and after Easter, 1916, about 25,000 French subjects, ranging from young girls of 16 to men of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes and families at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, and deported to the Aisne and Ardennes districts, where they were compelled by force or threats to work in the fields. Germany defends the act on the ground that it was necessary because of food scarcity. The Allies denounce it as slavery. It has aroused indignation throughout France and England and added a new note of bitterness to the conflict. The more important documents on the subject are presented below.

Statement by M. Briand

FROM time to time the Government of the Republic has had occasion to advise the neutral powers of the means, contrary to treaties, employed by the German military authority toward the populations of the French territory temporarily occupied by Germany. The Government of the Republic finds itself today compelled to place before the foreign Governments documents which will furnish the proof that our enemies have adopted new measures which are still more inhuman.

Upon the order of General von Graevenitz and with the assistance of Infantry Regiment 64, sent by the German General Headquarters, about 25,000 French, young girls from 16 to 20 years old, young women and men up to the age of 55 years, without distinction of social condition, were torn from their homes at Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Lille, pitilessly separated from their families, and forced to do agricultural work in the Departments of the Aisne and Ardennes.

Better than any comments the posters of the German authorities, the painful protests of the Mayor and Bishop of Lille, and the extracts from letters which have come from these localities, and which are annexed to this statement, will illustrate this new deed of the German Imperial Government.

Here is the recital of the facts as given us by the Minister of War on June 30, 1916:

"The Germans, not content with sub-

jecting our population of the north to all series of vexations, have just inflicted upon them the most iniquitous of treatments. In contempt of the most universally recognized rules and of their most positive promise not to harass the civil population, they have torn women and young girls from their families, and, mingling them with men, have shipped them for unknown destinations and unknown labors.

"In the first days of April posters offered to unemployed families to settle them in the country in the departments of the north to work in the fields or to chop down trees. This endeavor having met with poor success, the Germans decided to resort to force. Beginning April 9, they are found carrying on wholesale arrests in the streets and in homes, carrying away pell-mell men and young girls and shipping them no one knows where.

"The measure was soon to become general and to be used in more methodical fashion. A General and numerous troops arrived at Lille, among others the Sixty-fourth Regiment, coming from Verdun; on April 29 and 30 a notice to the population was posted in which it was requested to hold itself ready for a forced evacuation. Immediately the Mayor protested, the Bishop sought the commander of the place, the Elders sent indignant letters; nothing availed.

"On Saturday of Holy Week at 3 o'clock in the morning methodical wholesale arrests began at Lille, starting with the Fives quarter, Tourcoing, starting

with the Marlière quarter, and at Roubaix. After an interruption for Easter Sunday the operation was resumed during the whole week, ending at Lille in the St. Maurice quarter. Toward 3 o'clock in the morning the streets were barred by troops with fixed bayonets and a machine gun set up across the sidewalk against unarmed people. The soldiers entered the houses, and officers designated the persons who were to go, and half an hour later every one was carried away pell-mell to a nearby factory, and from there to the railroad station for departure. Mothers with children under 14 years were spared; young girls below 20 years old were carried away only with a person of their family, but this does not lessen the barbarity of the measure. Soldiers of the Landsturm were visibly embarrassed to find themselves employed for such work.

"The victims of this brutal deed showed the greatest courage. They were heard crying 'Long live France!' and singing 'La Marseillaise' in the cattle cars which carried them away.

"It is said that the men are employed at farming, road work, munitions making, and digging trenches. The women are required to cook and wash for the soldiers and to take the places of officers' orderlies.

"Hence for these hard tasks servants, domestics, and working girls were taken in preference. In the Rue Royale at Lille there are no servant girls left, but young girls of courage were found in the middle class who did not wish to see only the young girls of the working class go. It is mentioned that the Misses B. and de B. insisted upon accompanying the girls of their neighborhood.

"These unfortunates, thus requisitioned, were dispersed from Seclin and Templeuve to the Ardennes. Their number is estimated at 25,600 for the cities of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. The Place quarter of Lille, the townships of Loos, Haubordin, Madeleine, and Lambersart are said to have been spared."

Nothing can equal the emotion felt by the populations of the north of France without distinction of class during these

days of Holy Week. These facts surpass in inhumanity those which had occurred previously. * * *

The German military authority, in orders posted at Lille, has seen fit to justify the wholesale exiles carried out at Lille and Roubaix as being the counterpart of the attitude of England in rendering the feeding of populations more and more difficult. Nothing can justify a measure so barbarous; the seizure of contraband, the stoppage of enemy commerce are acts of war; the deportation of population without military necessity is not one. Besides, in order to do justice to this pretended justification, it suffices to establish that not only has Germany profited through depriving the occupied territories of all products which would have assured the support of the inhabitants, but further has organized to its profit before all stoppage of enemy commerce the exploitation of the labor of French civilians.

Article 52 of the rule annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention authorizes the requisitioning in kind and in service for the needs of the army of occupation. There is no question in the depositions obtained of any regular form of requisition. Services sometimes of the most repulsive character were imposed by constraint upon the entire civilian population, without distinction of sex, age, or social condition. These unfortunates had to do the labor imposed upon them by night or day in places the most diverse and most distant from their residences, sometimes even under the fire of artillery, without remuneration of any sort in most cases, for some crusts of bread in others. The German military authority has never had any consideration for the population whose provisional administration has been secured to it by war. The fruits of the forced labor of this population have been shipped to Germany, despite the absolute destitution of the workers.

Finally, it may be noticed in the following depositions that the German authorities did not hesitate to compel these populations to take part in war operations against their country, even to the extent of taking part in the looting of

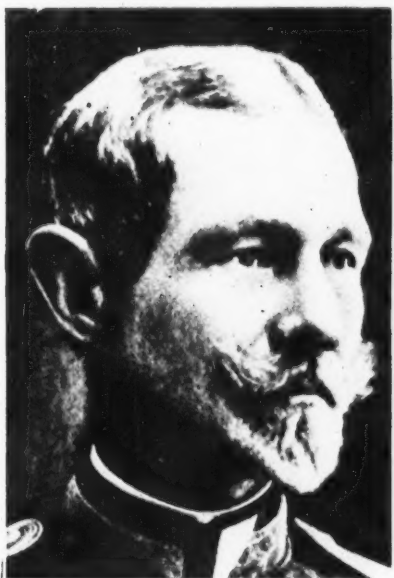
FOUR RUMANIAN LEADERS



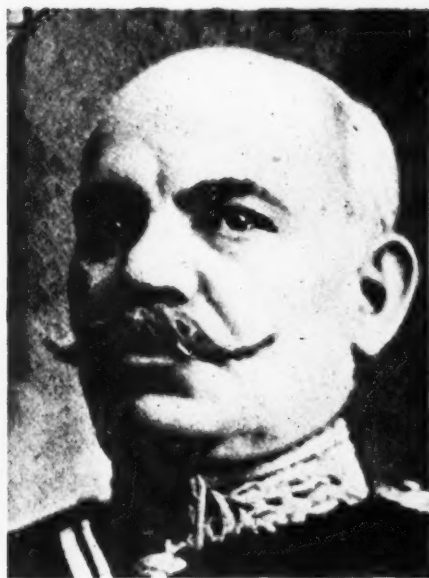
Ion Bratiano,
Premier of Rumania.



Take Jonescu,
the People's Leader.



General Averescu,
Noted Commander.



General Culca,
a Doughty Fighter.

GERMAN PRISON CAMP MONEY



Paper Money and Coins That Are Being Used in Place of Legal Money in the German and Austrian Camps of War Captives.

their own land. These authorities made of them the direct auxiliaries of the fighting army, whether by placing them in front of German troops as shields or by forcing them to do work connected with war operations.

The working material—for it is no longer a question of men, but of veritable machines which are displaced as suits the needs—the material lacking in certain regions of the occupied territory, the German authorities draw without counting either in the internment camps, where against all right those subject to military duty removed from that territory have been confined, or in the other invaded regions. They are not sent to the place of their previous residence. These civilians are enlisted, and, although the Germans themselves recognize that they may not be compelled to do labor, they are taken to any point of the territories occupied by the German Army and compelled to do the hardest labor.

And when France, in the name of anguished families, demands information concerning the fate of the transplanted unfortunates the German Government replies that the military authorities do not deem themselves obliged to account for the reasons which have caused these transfers. It has not been possible to know during whole seasons what has become of such unfortunates.

It results clearly from the whole of the depositions hereinafter set forth that no immediate necessity whatever, nor the excitement incident to fighting, can extenuate the violations of the law of nations committed by the German authorities. The latter, in accordance with a deliberate will and a method settled in advance, have reduced the unhappy population of the invaded territories to a condition which may be compared only to slavery.

In 1885, at the time of the African conference in Berlin, of which she had taken the initiative, Germany had bound herself, in what concerned the territories of Africa where she exercised her sovereignty or influence, to conserve the native populations and to better materially and morally their existence.

After having gathered the informa-

tion, necessarily very limited, which has come to it from the invaded portion of France, and which it submits to the neutral powers, the Government of the Republic is entitled to doubt that the German authorities observe in what concerns the populations which are temporarily in their charge the obligations which the Imperial Government has undertaken regarding the black populations of the centre of Africa.

(Signed) A. BRIAND,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

German Proclamation

The German Military Commander of Lille posted up the following proclamation during Holy Week:

The attitude of England renders it increasingly difficult to feed the population.

To lessen misery, the German authority has recently asked volunteers to work in the country. This offer has not had the success which was expected. Consequently the inhabitants will be removed by compulsion and transported to the country. Those removed will be sent in the interior of French occupied territory far behind the front, where they will be employed in agriculture and in no way in military work.

By this measure the opportunity will be given them to better provide for their support.

In case of necessity the revictualing may be effected by the German dépôts.

Each person removed may carry thirty kilograms of baggage, (house utensils, clothes, &c.,) which it will be well to prepare immediately. Hence I order:

No one may until further notice change residence. Nor may any one be absent from his declared local domicile from 9 o'clock at night until 6 o'clock in the morning (German time) unless he holds a regular permit.

As this concerns an irrevocable measure, it is in the interest of the population itself to remain calm and obedient.

Lille, April, 1916.

(Signed) THE COMMANDER.

The foregoing was followed by this more peremptory notice:

All the inhabitants of the houses except children under 14 years and their mothers, as also except elderly persons, must prepare to be transported in an hour and a half.

An officer will finally decide what persons are to be conducted to concentration points. To that end all inhabitants of the house must gather before their habitation; in case of bad weather it is permissible to remain in the hall. The door of the house must remain open. Any objection will be useless. No

inhabitant of the house, even those who will not be removed, may leave the house before 8 o'clock in the morning, (German time.)

Each person will be entitled to thirty kilograms of baggage. Should there be an excess of weight, all the baggage of that person will be refused without consideration. The bundles must be made separately for each person and bear a legible address written and solidly affixed. The address must bear the name, given name, and the number of the card of identity.

It is wholly necessary in one's own interest to bring drinking and eating utensils, as also a woolen blanket, good shoes, and linen. Each person will have to carry a card of identity. Whoever attempts to evade removal will be pitilessly punished.

(Signed) ETAPPAN KOMMANDANT,

Summary of Evidence

The remainder of the White Book consists of more than 240 corroborative exhibits in the form of sworn statements in regard to sufferings and abuses endured by victims of the deportation edict. Women and men alike testify to having been compelled to work from 6 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon at various kinds of hard labor, upon pain of imprisonment, starvation, or beating. Some of the men state that they were compelled to bury the dead, to dig trenches, construct bridges or roads, and do other work of military value to the enemy. To employ prisoners or civilians of occupied country in military work constitutes a violation of international law, as voiced in Article 52 of the Fourth Hague Convention.

A German Explanation

The following explanation by a German officer who had been an Aide-de-Camp in the Lille district during the evictions was sent from Berlin by a semi-official news agency on Aug. 17:

The main reason for sending a part of the civilian population from Lille was that the town was being furiously shelled by the British, who do not show the regard for French cities that the French artillerymen do, their reckless destruction of French houses and monuments being resented by the French civilians in Lille. In addition to this there had been much difficulty in the distribution of food in the congested districts of the city. Therefore, civilians from the densely populated workingmen's quarters were sent away. By no means all civilians were sent; only those from the quarters mentioned.

View of an Eyewitness

Cyril Brown, the Berlin correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, visited these evicted civilians in August, and made the following report:

Twenty-two thousand French civilians, men, women, youths, and young girls, have been evicted to date from Lille, Roubaix and Tourcoing, I am told. The greater part have been distributed over the rich agricultural sections of France in German hands. The balance have been distributed among industrial centres.

Returning from the Somme front I availed myself of the opportunity of spending a day visiting the evicted civilians in Sedan and thirteen surrounding hamlets and villages. My impression gained after seeing and talking with the male evicted civilians in Sedan was unfavorable if their statements were true. The impression made upon us by the men, women, girls, and youths in the country district around Sedan was very favorable.

To understand the situation the reader must bear in mind that a clear distinction is made between "conscripts" of military age and the other evicted persons, women and males of non-military age. Most of the civilians appear to have been taken from Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing in April or May. An officer of the General Staff, who spoke with authority, told me that of the 22,000 civilians 2,000 had been sent back to their homes either because they had been sent away by mistake, as in the case of those of higher social status, because they were physically incapable of working, because they were single women without near relatives, or for other valid reasons. The officer added that quite a number of those who returned to Lille had asked to be brought back to Sedan because living conditions were better for them here. He further stated that the difficulties of feeding the masses in Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, particularly the unemployed, had forced the German military authorities to resort to the policy of evicting the inhabitants.

I am inclined to believe that while the military necessity of relieving the non-military pressure from important strategic railroads and even a certain degree of altruism influenced the military authorities to take this measure, the permanent evicting of 20,000 natives could not seem sufficient to relieve the economic pressure in these cities—would not be enough alone to justify the step. It seems probable that the primary motive of the military authorities was the necessity of obtaining agricultural workers to get in the bountiful harvest in Northern France, and, in the second place, for the purpose of rooting out the evils resulting from unemployment in the big cities, and the resultant difficulties of food distribution in the third place.



SLAVES

—By Forain in *Paris Figaro*.

FIRST GERMAN OFFICER: "Whose's that under the load?"

SECOND GERMAN OFFICER: "Oh, she's the daughter of that Lille Professor!"

[This letter is authenticated by the Allied Official Bureau. The Germans reply that the deportation was an act of charity to the overcrowded population in the cities.]

The Agonized Mothers of Lille

MY DEAR M.: We have just been through three weeks full of the most hideous agony and moral torture which a mother's heart can be called upon to endure—the last week has been the worst.

On the pretext of the difficulty caused by England in maintaining the food supply and the refusal of inhabitants to volunteer to work in the fields, steps have been taken for an evacuation by force, which has been put into effect with every imaginable refinement of cruelty. They did not, as on the first occasion, take families as a whole. No! they thought it too humane a method to let members of families suffer together, so they took one, two, three, four, or five members from each family, men, women, boys, children of 15, girls, anyhow—at the arbitrary will of an officer!

To prolong the agony all round, they worked by districts—never saying on which night each district would be taken. For it was at break of day that these gallant soldiers with fixed bayonets, armed with machine guns, and the band

playing at their head, sallied forth to abduct women and children. God knows where to and wherefore. They say: Far from the front for work in no way connected with the war. However, we hear already that in some districts these poor creatures have been received with volleys of stones, because it was said that they had volunteered to do work which the inhabitants of the districts refused to perform. It is a devilish lie, as is the whole plan—it was for this that the census card, which gave age, sex, ability, and skill in particular work; the identity card which we all have to carry, and the prohibition on sleeping away from home were preparing.

About three weeks ago raids were made in the two neighboring towns; people were seized anyhow in the streets and tramways, and people thus seized were never seen again. We were terrified. As several girls and children were seized, the civil and religious authorities made admirable protests. "I cannot believe," said one, "in this violation of all justice and right; this abom-

inable action, which violates every canon of morality or justice, will bring universal condemnation on its perpetrators." "I hear," said another, "that measures of an extreme nature threaten our families; I believe in the human conscience—a punishment by which young girls and children would be torn from their mothers to be sent to an unknown destination in a state of terrible promiscuity, would be as cruel as it would be undeserved—it would be contrary to the most elementary notions of morality. Your Excellency, you are a father, and you will understand what such an extreme measure would be to our families whose members are so united."

In reply, the authors of these protests were called together on Holy Thursday at 4 o'clock. During the meeting terrorizing posters were put up and they were given to understand that this was the reply to their protests, and that on leaving they could read them in the streets in the same way as the rest of the population. As the abominable measure was decided on, they were told that they could hold their tongues. Well, the poster warned every one—excepting old and infirm persons, children under 14 and their mothers—to be ready for evacuation, every person being allowed to have 30 kilograms (60 pounds) of luggage. To make the necessary arrangements domiciliary visits would be made. All the inhabitants of the house must be at the open door of the house, with their identity cards in their hands, to report to the officer, who would decide which of them were to be carried off—no appeal would be allowed. Coming out of church, we read this threat which was to be carried out at once in the case of some and would hang over the heads of others like the sword of Damocles for ten long days and ten interminable nights, as they were to proceed by districts. And, to crown all, it was at the sweet will of some officer that the victims were to be selected! We never knew each night when our turn would come, and we awoke as though from some horrible nightmare, sweat on our brow and anguish in our

heart. No words can describe to you the horror of these days. We are all quite broken by it.

From the night of Good Friday to Holy Saturday the troops passed our house to raid the first district, Fives. It was awful; the officer passed along and designated the men and women he wished to take, giving them ten minutes to an hour in which to be ready to start.

Anthony D. and his sister of 22 years of age were carried off. After much trouble they left the little girl, who is not yet 14. The grandmother, ill from misery and terror, required immediate attention. So they at last let the little girl return. But in one place an old man and in another two infirm old people were not allowed to keep the little girls who were the only persons they had to look after them. Everywhere they baited their victims, adding petty vexations to brutality. Thus at the doctor's, B.'s uncle's place, Mme. B. was told to choose between her two servants. She chose to keep the elder. "All right," said they, "then we will take her." Mlle. L., the younger one, who had just recovered from typhoid and bronchitis, saw the N. C. O. who was abducting her servant approach her. "This is a sorrowful duty we have to perform," said he. "More than sorrowful," she replied; "it might be called barbarous." "That is a hard word," he said. "Are you not frightened that I shall give you away?" and as a matter of fact the sneak did so. She was allowed seven minutes to prepare, and they led her away in slippers, without a hat, to be judged by the Colonel who commanded the heroic force. He, in spite of the verdict of the doctor, condemned her to be carried off. It was only by her untiring energy and through the pity of one less brutal than the rest that she was able to obtain exemption at 5 P. M. after a day of the tortures of Calvary.

A sentry is placed at the door for each person marked down, and then the poor creatures are taken off to some place of assembly—a church or a school—and then in a body all classes and conditions herded together; innocent young girls and public prostitutes cheek by jowl they

go, surrounded by soldiers, with the band playing before them, to the station, whence at evening they depart without knowing whither or for what labor they are destined.

As our turn was delayed we had time to prepare as far as possible the girls, who are known among us as the "sisters" and the "two." They packed their luggage pluckily, each wishing in case of need to take the place of the other, and I had to settle which it would be best to let go. On Monday we found some comfort at the little village we visited with you last year; everybody overwhelmed us with their sympathy, suffering for us and with us; for none, not even our helpers, were free from fear. All helped us, and Mme. D. made me promise to tell her if the girls I spoke of above were taken; if so, she was free, and would accompany them and be their mother. All the week this torture lasted, and the agony weighed us down. A., the servant girl, was taken and then released, partly owing to her father and partly to her young sister, whose gratitude is touching. L. A.'s daughter was seized. Then came our turn. You may imagine that sleep was impossible to me. I heard the troops passing, and awoke all my household.

At 4 A. M. the visits in our street began. They lasted till 1:30 P. M. We were taken at 10 o'clock. You can guess our agony during those six fatal hours! Of course; there was a chance of getting them released, but as surely some would be seized, and had they not already endured more than enough during that terrible day, passed beside the public women of our district, without any real certainty of delivery? At last—God again accorded us His fatherly protection—and having gone over every one, none was seized, but we were worn out. It was sinister to see the young girls living in our street passing one by one silently by, each under the guard of a soldier: there were three members of the little working party I started, deeply moved. I had given them some words of advice as to the danger to which they would

be exposed, (it was on Good Friday before the first raid;) the plucky children could not keep back their tears, and like all the others were most troubled at the thought that they would be made to work for the enemy.

Our fears are, however, not yet at an end. As regards ourselves—alas!—father himself may be threatened. Our chief accountant, M.'s husband, has been taken, and they are of an age. Oh, if they take him too! Pray, dearest, pray all of you with us, I entreat you, and thank God for having spared us this time—us, Aunt A., and all her children, also our relations and friends, (B.'s relations;) pray Him to continue His protection, for which our need is so great! Will our release never come?

It has been said—another lie—that we were in revolt and that this was a punishment. At Roubaix officers of the guard, finding themselves in the midst of a calm and dignified population, refused to carry off women and children by night. Here the Sixty-fourth Regiment, who have been at Verdun, were quite ready. Some, they said, would have preferred to have stopped in the trenches. At the least they will get the Iron Cross and the name of this glorious feat of arms will decorate their flag.

But, above all things, let our soldiers, when they get there, not revenge themselves by committing similar deeds. To do so would be to sully the fair name of France. Let them leave such evil deeds and crimes to God's vengeance. These people, as a woman whose husband, daughter, and son were seized told them, "will be accursed in their race, in their wives, and in their children."

I have finished my long, miserable tale, but I cannot adequately describe the awful misery of those whose homes have been decimated. Many will die of it. It is, as Monsigneur said, the passion of our families added to the Passion of Christ. One woman burst out into a sweat of blood when they seized her son; they brought him back, and she did not know him. It is terrible, and our position seems to me very threatening. Pray for us. * * * MARIE.

Belgium Under the Surface

By A. J. Hemphill

American Banker and Honorary Treasurer of Neutral Commission for Relief

WHEN I got to Brussels my first impression was that everything was normal, except for the absence of vehicles owing to the scarcity of horses and the prohibition of motors except to a few. The people are well clad, the shops are open, and men go about their daily life much the same as they do in London or New York. At the markets I saw people buying and selling—mostly vegetables—and business being freely transacted in the ordinary way. That was on the surface. But one has to remember that Belgium normally lives on imported raw materials and food, and pays for her food by export of her manufactures. This vital current is stopped by the war, and 60 per cent. of Belgium's workpeople are idle. A large part of the commercial class are also idle and reduced to dependence upon charity. When I went to the relief stations where the wholly destitute—amounting to a large proportion of the population—get their soup and other provisions, I saw, in the waiting queues, not only the needy class that one would expect, but well-dressed men, women, and children. In Brussels and elsewhere throughout Belgium the human lines that daily wait for the small ration provided by the charity of the world are marked by this same sad feature. Destitution is not only widespread, but there are now dependent upon relief thousands of the upper classes who never dreamed of coming to such a pass.

It is only after being in Brussels for a little time, and after visiting Charleroi, Malines, Antwerp, Liège, and other places, that one realizes how misleading are first impressions of life in Belgium as it is today. The outward appearance of normality is sustained only by the fact that relief to the value of over \$6,000,000 is, so to speak, injected into the country every month. The external calm is an amazing tribute to the efficiency of the

system whereby the relief organization provides and distributes to this whole nation the supplies without which there would be chaos and unthinkable suffering.

In this complex work of rationing every day over 7,000,000 souls, of whom just one-half are totally or partially destitute, the Belgians themselves are co-operating magnificently. Without their unflagging support and public-spirited work the efforts of those throughout the world who, regardless of nationality, sympathize with the Belgian people would fail of their purpose.

The Comité National in Brussels, composed of the leading Belgians who dared to stay and face the invaders, has enrolled thousands of volunteer helpers, who are now experts in this problem of rationing.

Both in America and England a good deal of uneasiness somewhat naturally exists as to the relief supplies actually reaching the Belgians. I discussed this point thoroughly with responsible Belgians throughout the country and with the Americans who are supervising the distribution, besides keeping my own eyes open for any indication of confiscation by the Germans. As a result I am convinced that the relief supplies sent into Belgium reach, in their entirety, the Belgian people. Except for trivial local incidents, which are invariably remedied, I heard of no instance whatever of the Germans breaking their guarantees to respect the food which the allied Governments allow to be brought through the blockade. As regards the home-grown produce, there are, probably, still some minor leakages—almost inevitable in a country garrisoned by a foreign army—but I can safely say that 95 per cent. of the native food supplies go toward feeding the Belgian people. The inappreciable leakages to which I refer are always made the subject of

negotiations between the relief organization and the belligerent powers.

What do the Belgian people really think? They don't think. They just hope. They live from day to day in the undimmed expectancy of regaining their independence. I might also say they live on hope, because if that wonderful spirit were not there the scanty ration, which is all the relief organization can supply, would be inadequate to prevent increased disease and mortality.

Under ordinary circumstances the population would be pauperized by free feeding of the unemployed. This is not the case in Belgium. In the first place, a daily diet of soup, bread, sometimes potatoes and a little bacon, and occasionally rice and beans, continued over two years, does not offer many attractions. It is only the indomitable spirit of the people themselves that makes it bearable. They will be glad enough when peace comes to exchange free meals of such a kind for the food they can earn by work. At present a small percentage get a few days' work weekly in local industries, such as the enamel, glass, and coal trades, at a few francs per week. They unceasingly refuse wages at from 15 to 25 francs a week, which they could obtain by working for the Germans. Glass and enamel ware, by consent of the Allies, are being exported in small quantities, but the payments for such exports are retained in allied countries until the conclusion of the war. The German assertion that the whole Belgian Nation has organized a passive resistance strike on an unprecedented scale is undoubtedly correct.

In one relief canteen which I inspected a man came up and made a complaint. There was no meat, he said excitedly, in his soup. He had long given up the idea of receiving meat as part of his daily meal, but if he was to live, he declared, he must get some of the nourishment that meat provides. He was right. There was practically no meat in the soup. But what is one to do? Such meat as there is in the country is \$1.50 per pound.

There are 600,000 children in Belgium entirely dependent upon the tenderheartedness of the outside world. A large percentage of the remaining 2,000,000 children up to the age of 16 are partially dependent upon relief. The problem of bringing them up and even of keeping them alive is becoming more and more grave. The relief organization has just started an extraordinarily interesting experiment to meet the emergency of short milk supplies in industrial centres. They have asked the peasants to lend, free of charge, for one year, one cow from each of their herds to a communal herd which will provide milk for the children. In Antwerp the herd now numbers over 400 cattle. In other centres the peasants are responding excellently to the appeal. At the end of the year the cows will be returned to their owners, who will be compensated for the loss of any of their cattle.

My visit to Belgium gave me my first opportunity to see for myself the actual working of the relief system. It is a marvel of efficiency and devotion. As an American I am proud not only of my fellow-countryman, Mr. Herbert Hoover, to whose genius for organization the whole structure owes its continued existence through a thousand heartbreaking difficulties, but of those Americans who, so self-sacrificingly and self-effacingly, are devoting themselves in the occupied territory to keeping the Belgian Nation alive.

* * * All-Americans admire the magnificent generosity with which the British Empire, despite the many other calls upon its benevolence and resources, has contributed, through the National Committee for Relief in Belgium, to the support of the relief work. After seeing that work for myself, I venture to say that it is the duty of every humane individual to help these helpless civilians in Belgium—especially the children—who for nearly two years have endured sorrows and privations that would try the soul of any nation in the world, and yet still remain heroically true to those traditions of liberty and freedom which they have inherited through centuries.

German Civil Administration in Belgium

By Baron Adolf von Bachofen

A German official who recently visited the occupied territory

IT is a matter of course that the military administration of Belgium, so far as its needs are concerned, holds the country in an iron grip, guarding the conquered territory in every way. But the fact that, immediately following the great military successes of the Fall of 1914, a civil administration had been called into life and since that time had solidly incorporated itself in the life of the nation was one of the things that impressed me the most. I still distinctly remembered the conditions in Alsace in the eighties, when the relations between the Government and the people were thus characterized by a worthy citizen: "We don't mind being governed, but we will not be scolded." At that time there were all kinds of orders as to what must and must not be, but the economic union of the new territory with the empire and the reconstruction of its sadly stricken industries were still in a bad way fifteen years after the conquest.

There is a mighty difference between the Prussian jurists who were in power at that time and the far-seeing officials of the empire of today. Forces from all parts of Germany are being employed in the civil administration to put the country in a new state of industrial activity, to make everything ready for peace, and to shape the relations between the empire and Belgium, so that an active trade after the conclusion of peace will develop close bonds between the two countries. At the same time everything adaptable about the administrative bodies has been retained and left in the hands of the natives. Belgian Judges administer the law, and Belgian Mayors attend to the affairs of the cities and towns, only a few of them having been removed or interned because of political intrigues, as in Brussels.

A Belgian committee looks after the distribution, even to the last village, of

the articles of food and similar objects that come from the United States for the civil population. Only the highest officials are missing, and, naturally, the Ministries, which could not work with the German Government, are out of the country. Where the native institutions are not sufficient, or where sharp and continued opposition prevents effective work, the organs of the civil administration reinforce the native organizations and bring new life to the severely stricken land. The staff of men that his Excellency von Bissing has gradually gathered together for this task comes from every part of Germany and from all spheres of activity.

After the country had been conquered in an incredibly short time, the civil administration was organized as soon as possible, and it certainly faced one of the hardest tasks that could be placed before a Government. In a country whose life depended upon industry in a greater degree than any other, all the factories were at a standstill. The people were filled with the deepest hatred toward the new rulers, the owners of almost all the industrial and commercial establishments had fled, the enormous trade that ordinarily ebbed and flowed through the country was in complete stagnation. It was necessary to feed the population and to revive labor.

The first problem, that of providing food, was solved with comparative speed. Because of the killing off of young cattle and the selling of horses abroad, some drastic orders were issued; as a result, the supply of live stock is now again at its former height and the agricultural output is scarcely less than at any time before the conquest. All this output, which, nevertheless, meets only a scant two-thirds of the demand, was held at the disposition of the coun-

try for its own needs. Additional supplies were first sent in from the empire, and later a Belgian committee was organized, which, under arrangement with the belligerent powers, drew food supplies from the United States and distributed them through its branches over the entire country. Without any friction to speak of this committee has continued to fulfill its task down to the present day in an almost independent manner and without any exaggerated supervision by the Government.

Far more difficult was the task of reviving industrial activity, but it has been accomplished to a surprising degree. The first step was to open the coal mines, under the supervision of the Government, but for the account and at the risk of the owners, and today some 70 per cent. of the workings are again in operation. The coal, except in so far as it is used in the country itself, is exported to Sweden, which receives about 200,000 tons a month, and to Holland and Switzerland. Many carloads are also sent to the trenches in the east. The total exports amount to about 300,000 tons a month.

While the management of all the mines is in the hands of Chief Mining Officer Bonhardt, in the east, around Liège and that section, Director Woltersdorf runs the workings with extraordinary ability. Herr Woltersdorf, who came upon the scene as a Lieutenant of artillery, was ordered, after the capture of Liège, to blow up the entrances to some mines where it was thought francs-tireurs were in hiding. But before obeying the order, he informed the Governor that the hostile band could be driven out in three hours by stopping the pumps. This method was adopted, and as a matter of fact no francs-tireurs came out, but the mines were saved, and shortly afterward Woltersdorf, who in civil life is Director of the Central Bureau for Mine Safety and of the experimenting station at Beuthen, was placed at the head of the district. He not only put all the coal mines in operation, but was also able to see that work was continued in the Campine, a waste region in Limburg, where the coal is covered with

about 600 yards of rock, on six new shafts which were being sunk. * * *

It was of great importance that the iron ore mines south of Liège were rich in manganese ore, for it was just there that the German iron industry was short. A number of these mines are again in operation and, besides, a considerable number of old rubbish heaps are being worked over again. Some of the pottery plants, whose former principal export territory was England, have renewed operations, though still on a rather modest scale; their products go through the canals to Holland and from there, to a large extent, find their way to their old destination, England.

The Cockerille Iron and Steel Works, which also belong to the Liège district, are employing almost 5,000 men, more than half the normal number. The textile industry is in the worst condition, being almost entirely dead. It is true that when Antwerp was captured very large quantities of raw materials, especially wool, were found; but this material had already been bought, to a large extent, for Germany, and therefore it went to Germany, and to a lesser degree to Austria. The Belgian industry was thus left to depend upon its own stock, which naturally in the course of a year and a half is practically exhausted. Efforts to get raw material from abroad are of particular importance to this industry.

In many cases the various establishments are being operated by their old Directors and engineers, and only the work of superintendence and the matter of exportation and consumption are handled by the Germans.

But in spite of the revival of activity in many industries there are still many tens of thousands of industrial workers entirely out of employment, and therefore it is of great importance that the emigration of Belgian workers to Germany is being promoted and that already some 10,000 workers have heeded the call and are employed in the Rhine country and in Westphalia. There they are becoming acquainted with better wages, the highly developed sick and accident insurance, and all the other pro-

visions made for the working class which as yet are unknown in their homes. These men may prove to be a valuable element in the work of bringing about a mutual understanding.

A big step toward improving social conditions was taken in Brussels when some 3,000 disorderly girls were forced to go to work under the threat of deportation in case they refused to avail themselves of the opportunity to work at sewing machines in the light rooms of a bag factory at good wages. * * *

An industry the revival of which was really the least to be expected was the diamond-cutting business of Antwerp. Before the war this industry employed about 10,000 men. When Antwerp fell 400 were still at work. Under the control of Senator Sthamer, Captain Baron Plettenberg took the lead in handling the situation with skill and hearty interest. Raw material was brought in from the large stocks in Berlin that had come from West Africa, and one after another the employers slowly resumed operations, so that today about 5,000 persons are earning their bread in that industry—of course at smaller wages than before—and some 12,000 carats are being cut per month, with a value of about \$1,000,000.

The iron and steel industry of Belgium has always suffered from the fact that it is split up into a large number of comparatively small plants and that its concentration into great concerns has only made good progress in a few cases, such as the Cockerille plant and the arms factories; and furthermore its technical equipment is not up to the German standard.

In connection with the revival of industry and of domestic trade, plans for the reopening of foreign commerce have already been worked out. Such men as Senator Sthamer in Antwerp and his circle of gentlemen from the German seaports are studying all the possibilities of a traffic that shall go from the interior of Germany through Antwerp to the lands beyond the seas. It seems strange to find in more than one office maps of the canals of Belgium and Germany and their connections via the Main

and Danube with Austria, enriched with all sorts of new and personal sketches and suggestions; or to learn that both projects for the development of the harbor of Antwerp have met a competitor in the shape of a new German plan.

In the great basin of the harbor of Antwerp lie the thirty-five German steamers whose engines were destroyed by the English before they fled from the city with complete and perfect engines again installed and with the coal bunkers filled ready to steam out into the Atlantic with German goods the moment the peace bells begin to ring.

There has probably never been a case before where the conquerors devoted such an amount of force and energy to the internal rejuvenation of a conquered land, without regard to what sort of bonds were to connect victors and vanquished in the future. It would be a mistake to believe, however, that we have won over a large part of the Belgians. What we have been able, in favorable cases, to give, is very little in comparison with what the country has lost, and what, in the opinion of the inhabitants, would be lost forever if the connection with Germany were to become closer. To people like the Belgians, who have grown up under the protection of neutrality, and in whom the sense of individual freedom has been developed to a remarkable degree, the thought of being joined to Germany, with its subjection of individual interests to those of the community, with its military service and social provisions, must be infinitely unsympathetic. Besides, there are all sorts of little annoyances to which the broad masses are subjected, such as the trebling of the railroad rates, which seriously interferes with the workers' habit of living a long distance from their place of business, the strict rule requiring each in person to report to the police, &c.

The well-to-do classes in many ways feel themselves menaced in their very existence, for they plainly see that the great income from the founding of exotic companies will be cut down, like that from the Congo colony, and that through

the better education of the laboring masses and through the introduction of sickness and accident insurance—in short, through the social provisions developed in Germany—the economic foundation of many a concern that is technically backward would be shattered or destroyed. Therefore, the propertied classes use every means to maintain and revivify anti-German sentiment among the masses, and in this struggle the clergy stands steadfastly at their side, for annexation to Germany would cause the Church to lose some of its enormous influence. * * *

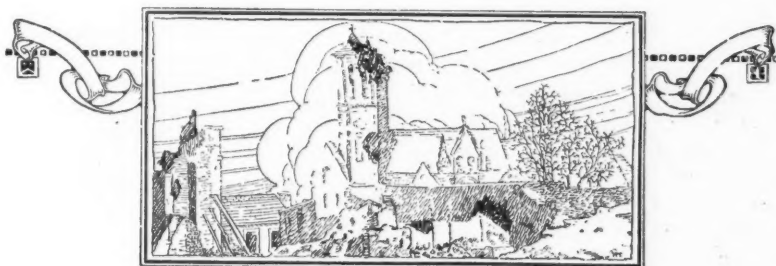
A case in which a girl was accused of having assisted the flight of a number of young fellows who joined the Belgian Army caused considerable comment. The defender assigned to her by the military court, with an impartial sense of justice, fought hard for his client, and, after an eight-hour struggle with the military lawyer, won her acquittal. A large number of Belgian Judges sent him

letters of thanks. So the longer the German administration lasts the more there penetrates into broader and broader circles an understanding of its excellent intentions and of the strength and energy it is devoting to the good of the country.

But we dare not cherish expectations that the rapprochement will become genuinely deep and hearty, because, aside from their history and development, the inhabitants of Belgium, be they Walloons or Flemish, have been impressed with customs and ideas that lead them into entirely different ways from those which are natural and right to Germans. However things may turn out during the next year, the civil administration has done its best to make the sufferings of war endurable for the Belgians just back of the battle front and to revive the rudely interrupted development of their national life, of their trade and industry, and to lead them into paths that are bound to conduct them to new heights after the war.

Humor Even in Conquered Belgium

In the outskirts of Bruges the Germans have put up signs at all the grade crossings with this Flemish inscription: "Verboden over den ijzeren weg te gaan"; which means: "It is forbidden to cross the railway." The other day some mischievous boys rubbed out the letters "en" at the end of "ijzeren" (iron), making the sign read: "It is forbidden to cross the Yser," a statement painfully true for the German army at that point. They are still hunting the culprits.—From "Anecdotes Pathétiques et Plaisantes," by Gabriel Langlois.



The Invasion of Belgium

By Colonel Feyler

English Military Expert

This study of the invasion of Belgium, which appeared in *Land and Water*, marshals the constructive evidence tending to show that Germany had made long and minute preparation for such an attack.

AMONG the historical problems raised by the great European war, the question of the invasion of Belgium remains one of the most absorbing. The German official theory, of course, lays the responsibility upon the Belgians themselves, in that they violated their own neutrality and thus forced the German Army to protect itself against the trap they had laid, by occupying forthwith their territory. It is interesting to examine whether strategical principles (and the German doctrine of their application) will help to support this theory.

Let us, first of all, remember that, apart from a detailed examination, the manoeuvre of 1914 across Belgium gave a striking first impression of being a thoroughly organized and long-considered operation, and showed, outwardly at least, every sign of perfect production and stage management. Of course, in such a judgment, formed without serious documentary evidence, imagination may perhaps play a large part, but we cannot get away from the fact that this judgment coincides exactly with what the Germans themselves affirm to be the reason of that superiority which confers on them the right to world hegemony, namely, in the words of a great German scientist, the chemist Ostwald: "That faculty for organization which has allowed Germany to attain a higher stage of civilization than the other nations and to which only the war will raise them, (the others.) The French and the English are still at a stage of civilization which the Germans left more than fifty years ago, the stage of individualism. Germany today is at the higher stage, that of organization."

The Dominant Idea

If this had been the opinion of a single

man, however influential, it would have been more or less negligible. It was to be found, however, in a multitude of writings; numberless and most varied circumstances go to prove that the opinion of the chemist Ostwald was a current, or rather dominant, opinion in Germany. The idea inspired the German people and, surely to a much higher degree, the German Army. Thus the General Staff was to organize victory by virtue of this superior stage of civilization, just as the Government would organize the nation's labor by suppressing the inferior principle of individualism.

Of course, at present we can only deal in hypotheses. The study of this subject must be resumed at a later date, when it can be approached in a calmer spirit. We can none the less seek to find to what extent the campaign of 1870 influenced, in Germany, that of 1914, for it is beyond doubt, and this applies to France no less than Germany, that the preparation for the war of 1914, excepting, of course, the fixing of its date, began as soon as the Treaty of Frankfurt had laid down the new frontier line.

An Infallible System

At that moment the Prussian General Staff started work on what one might call the scientific or dogmatic history of the war of 1870-71, for the famous work, so well known to all military men, was intended not merely for a summarization of facts, but more for a justification of methods. An attempt was made in this work to show how warfare should be scientifically organized, leaving nothing, or practically nothing, to chance, and securing victory by its very perfection of theory and practice; in short, the German method of warfare, as impeccable and infallible as German science and German truth.

The victorious Moltke of 1870 was thus made a prototype for the present war, being proclaimed superior to Napoleon, not only by virtue of his military prowess, but also by reason of that amazing German superstition of race superiority. Napoleon's equal in military genius, Moltke had the advantage of belonging to a superior race.

This puerile belief, however, does not prevent Moltke being inferior to Napoleon, and indeed to many more in one respect—he concluded but two great campaigns, as against Napoleon's fourteen. Less by many were the occasions on which he had to solve intricate strategical problems and, in the few cases when he was called upon so to do, circumstances always led him to repeat the same manoeuvre. Sadowa, the attempted French envelopment on the Sarre, St. Privat, and Sedan, all these four battles were of a similar type.

Successes of such a lightning character proved irrefutably (to the German mind) the worth of complete organization, and the German theory of warfare, based first and last upon superior organization, would, therefore, infallibly lead to a complete German victory. Forty years of military literature impressed this view upon the minds of officers. * * *

A Military Necessity

This hypothesis of a long and minute preparation of the German manoeuvre on the western front leads logically to the conclusion that the invasion of Belgium was premeditated. As a matter of fact, it is incredible that any one with the slightest knowledge of German strategical science should have any doubt on the subject, despite the subsequent denials by the Imperial Government. The only man to be frank on this point was von Bethmann Hollweg himself, (at first,) when he declared to the Reichstag that Belgium was being crossed in defiance of all treaties, as a military necessity.

The manoeuvre through Belgium was not only a consequence of the systematic study of Moltke; it was writ large in the local geography. The development of the intention could be followed from 1870 to 1914 by noting the variation in the

zones of concentration for the armies as betrayed by strategic railways, stations, and platforms. As and when the French strengthened their eastern frontier, so the Germans tended to abandon their original bases at Strassburg and Metz and to develop their preparations for concentration on the frontier of Luxembourg, and even further north, right up to the Dutch frontier. Many writers in France followed this evolution closely, so much so that the large and interesting work by Senator Maxime Lecomte and Lieut. Col. Camille Levi, "*Neutralité belge et invasion allemande*," published in 1914 on the eve of hostilities, prognosticated the operations almost exactly as they took place.

A Remarkable Prediction

To the question, "When the Germans invade France, will they pass through Belgium?" these authors answer most clearly, "The Germans will pass through Belgium." In a chapter thus headed, they examine the why and the how. Why? Because of the weakness of the northern French frontier compared with the eastern, (for the French had long relied on Belgian neutrality to cover their northern flank.) How? Through the whole of Belgium, for the size of the first-line armies would involve a crossing of the Meuse, without which, indeed, this right wing would hardly succeed in its attempted envelopment of the French. "Their right wing," wrote Messrs. Lecomte and Levi, "will advance across Central Belgium, making in force for Paris and moving chiefly along the valley of the Oise, approximately along the line Brussels-Mons-Paris."

It is obvious, too, that so enormous an operation could not be improvised on the spur of the moment. In order to be carried out with the regularity which no military man can but admire, the movement must have been prepared in its most minute details with the utmost foresight. The success of the whole plan depended upon a torrential overflowing of the Belgian territory; it is hardly to be expected that Realpolitik would have omitted to stock its hand with all the available trumps and that

in this particular case, therefore, above all (where only success could justify the iniquitous means) Germany would fail to employ what has always been her ace of trumps, namely, her minute organization.

Yet another argument: Germany has never shone in the realms of improvisation, but always as regards analysis and elaboration. Germans have always known how to use and develop to the best advantage the invention of others. To take a recent example, look at aviation; aviation originated in France, but at the outbreak of the war the German air service was very much better adapted than the French. In France, on the other hand, a certain indifference seems always to follow on the heels of a crisis of enthusiasm. Who, for instance, would have thought that, after the hard experience of 1870, the French would have been so little prepared for 1914? Germany, however, tends to sin on the other side, by an exaggeration of minute organization which would often compromise a situation brought about by novel and unexpected circumstances. This is another reason why an improvised invasion of Belgium would seem to conflict with all the most stable qualities of the German character.

Plan Long Matured

Lastly, an argument still less assailable, although lack of documentary evidence causes it to be hypothetical: Having taken Moltke as strategic mentor, it would be most extraordinary had the German staff departed from his most masterly quality, namely, an unceasing reviewing and improving of the plans he meditated for future campaigns. Moltke prepared the campaign of 1870 for thirteen years, from 1857 onward. During this period he prepared no less than twenty detailed memorials addressed to the King and his Ministers, Generals, &c. Upon every political change in Europe, upon every modification of inferior conditions in Prussia, upon every increase in the strength of the army, he

improved and perfected the details of the offensive against France. In 1869 the twentieth plan was ready, and when, faithful to his tradition, Moltke re-examined this plan, he found it satisfactory and wrote in the margin "Gut auch für 1870." ("Good also for 1870.")

Is it possible that the staff which copied all from Moltke would neglect the method of working which was his most shining success? Out of the question. For many years past the violation of Belgian neutrality must have been written in the dossiers of the German staff. And again, not only would they thus be following Moltke, but all great warriors. Napoleon wrote much on this subject.

Letter to Berthier Oct. 2, 1804: "At the moment of declaring war there is so much to do that it is wise to start some years beforehand."

Letter to Eugene Sept. 18, 1806: "Matters must be considered many months before they come to pass."

Letter to the staff Sept. 8, 1808: "Only solid and well-conceived plans can succeed in war."

Journal at St. Helena: "A plan of campaign must foresee all that the enemy can or may do, and must contain in itself the antidote."

That which Napoleon and Moltke emphasized as necessary would not have been neglected by the German staff of the twentieth century, self-styled superior to these. From the moment when the German Government decided to violate the treaty it had signed, the staff had no alternative but to prepare the said violation; the more so as Government and staff are one and the same in Germany.

Everything contradicts, therefore, the puerile excuse, that the Belgians had violated their own neutrality, and, on the other hand, proves that the passage through Belgium was premeditated, probably more in the light of conquest than of mere passage. But this last question will remain for history to answer more fully.

A Peace That Will Last

By Jean Finot

Editor of La Revue, Paris

THE peace which is to follow this war must be real; that is, German lying and the coarse illusions of the past must be eliminated from it. When we resume the normal life of mankind we must be able to do this with the same feeling of security with which the farmer proceeds to gather his harvest, without the smallest fear of malefactors near or far. The economic losses of the Allies will, however, be so considerable that it is necessary from now on to consider the means for diminishing their extent. There will also be principles of right and justice to safeguard. International life will have need of positive sanctions for the most distant future. A criminal from the international point of view should be punished like a common-law criminal. The wars of the past almost ended in despite of sound sense, and in such a way as to encourage spoliating and criminal nations. The invader, if his plan did not succeed, went peacefully home again. A more or less solemn peace guaranteed his impunity and allowed him to wait for a more favorable moment to recoup himself.

Today Europe is divided into two camps, one of which, much stronger than the other, is defending justice against crime. And, if it is impossible to win back again the millions of men killed or maimed, or to make good the losses and the floods of tears, let us at least guarantee the economic situation of all the victims of German aggression. * * *

Who called the tune must pay the piper. The difficulty of a repayment does not by any means create the necessity of renouncing it. This simple and logical principle is equally binding in the international field. The conditions of our life of tomorrow will not be safeguarded until we apply to nations the same principles of loyalty and of justice which we hold obligatory in private life.

Therefore we must go on to the end. The war will heal the evils it has caused. Without a decisive victory it will be impossible to recoup our material losses. The exhaustion of the belligerents will be equivalent to general ruin if one of them does not succeed in imposing his peace on his adversaries. * * *

The gross total of expenses for the war on the side of the Allies will reach 300,000,000,000 francs (\$60,000,000,000) at the end of three years of war, the smaller cost at the beginning being balanced by the steadily increasing cost as the war broadens and draws in new combatants. * * *

The Allies will lose a minimum of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 combatants. Their armed force does not, it is true, represent more than 14,000,000. But this figure will rise to more than 20,000,000 soldiers consecutively while hostilities last. This will be equivalent to a loss in earning power equal to 120,000,000,000 to 140,000,000,000 francs. * * *

The obligation to pay, for long years to come, an indemnity of these dimensions will keep Germany from thinking of new wars. And only under this condition can Europe return to a normal life. One of the reasons which make us believe in the future resurrection is that the nations will be able to lay aside militarism for long years to come. After so drastic a bleeding it would be impossible for them to resume their life of industry if they felt themselves obliged, as in the past, to plunge into costly armaments. They must, therefore, be given absolute security on the side of Germany. The recent past has taught us that the whole world, with the exception of Prussia, was eager to organize international life on the basis of liberty and justice, excluding every possibility of brutal aggression.

Once the German factor is reduced to powerlessness, the dream of peace, which had appeared childish and unrealizable,

will become a possibility which will triumph for a long time to come.

This consideration in itself will render inevitable the establishment of a gigantic indemnity, which will constitute a veritable insurance premium for the peace of tomorrow.

On the other hand, Germany herself, delivered from militarism, will soon restore her prosperity. The civilized nations, without making this their goal, will work for the salvation of Germany. We shall thus have a new Germany, which will become dear to the consciousness of mankind from the moment when she shall have left behind the criminality of her rulers.

Peace thus understood, though it may be hard for Germany, will not mean her disappearance. The Allies, as Mr. Asquith has so well said, "will destroy German militarism without tending in any way to destroy the German Nation." But the arsenal of international law furnishes us with no weapon, other than financial expiation, to prevent a return to savagery.

The fiscal and economic union of the Allies will, besides, prove ineffective against the Teutonic activity and spirit of organization. The Germans will exploit all the fissures in international agreements to push their commerce and industry. Let us even admit that the allied countries will remain closed to them. But they will then establish themselves among neutral nations. With the moral conceptions which allow them to become naturalized with the purpose of betraying the fatherland of their adoption, in the interest of their "symbolic fatherland," they will continue a process of sabotage against the economic revival of the Allies. In this region, also, only financial charges imposed on Germany will safeguard the stability of the world. * * *

We must not, as in the past, abandon the regulation of the accounts between the nations to their rulers, more or less qualified. The treaties of peace, as professional diplomatists conceive them, always contain the germs of future wars. Bastard solutions resulting from the non-

understanding of national aspirations and the moral interests which, invisible and unsuspected, move masses of men, render conflicts inevitable. And there is something infinitely humiliating for the dignity of men in the teaching that they will never be able to live without hatreds, spoliations, acts of brigandage. Decidedly it will be necessary to add to the "supposed specialists" in the domain of international affairs the representatives of the best elements of each people, who must influence the decisions of their rulers for the time being. An international peace cannot be improvised. It must be prepared and studied. It must be the result of age-long experience and of a profound understanding of the past and of the present.

And the duration of the war will give ample time to those who are behindhand to reflect on the condition of the world of tomorrow. * * *

The German Government is thus caught in its own snare. Its factitious conquests render its desires unrealizable. The nations of the Allies, united in the same thought and bound by identical aspirations, can sign no peace without having obtained the evacuation of all the territories occupied by the Germans. But, however blind and deceived the German people may be, it will never allow the Kaiser to give them up, after having bled his people white and for long years compromised its prosperity and renown.

A peace of this kind would threaten to provoke, let us be certain of it, a bloody revolution and the final disappearance of the Hohenzollerns. But the all-powerful Kaiser is far less concerned for the future of his people than for his own person and his dynasty.

The abandonment, pure and simple, of the territories temporarily conquered could not, besides, satisfy any of the Allies. The principle of indemnities, which we have already stated, constitutes a condition of elementary justice which the civilized nations cannot put aside.

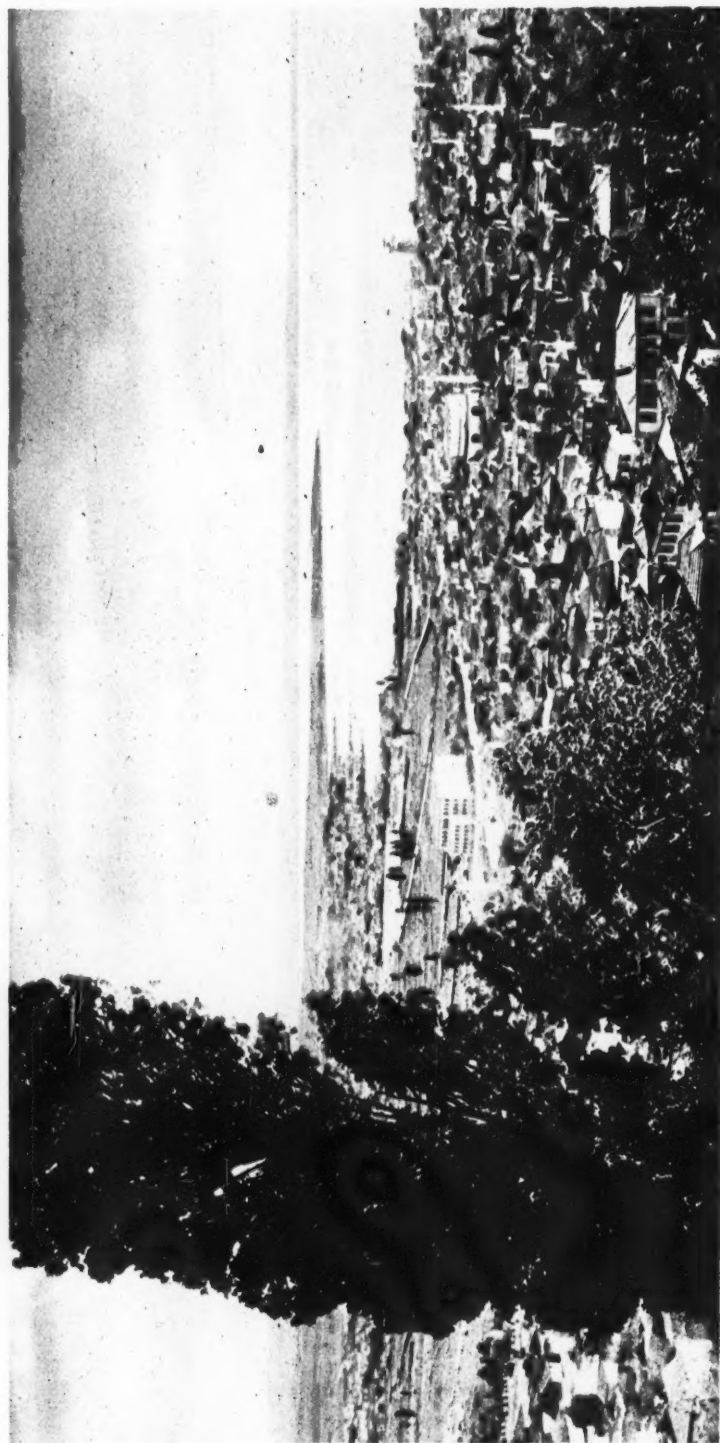
Before the immensity of the sacrifices which will be entailed even by the most favorable peace Germany will see herself obliged to battle to the last man and the

SYMBOLIZING THE HEROES WHO HAVE SAVED FRANCE



A French Artist's Memorable Drawing in Honor of the Soldiers Who Held the Battered Fortifications
at Verdun.

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SALONIKI, THE ALLIES' BALKAN BASE



From This Famous Base, After Nine Months' Preparation, General Sarrail and His Allied Forces Have Begun a New Offensive to Regain Serbia and the Balkan Peninsula.

(© A. P. A. Medem Photo Service.)

last mark. We are, therefore, driven to a real war of exhaustion. * * * But Germany is not yet out of breath. Her finances are greatly weakened, her economic life is anæmic, her resources in men are greatly diminished; but she still possesses resources which can prolong her agony during long months, perhaps years. * * *

Therefore the war will go on. * * * The German people, who will continue to be deceived, will be told that it is a question of their destruction instead of the destruction of the Hohenzollern dynasty, its squireens and armed brigands, and will, therefore, believe it necessary to defend with a mystic fervor its unity, which is threatened by no one, its

national soil, which no one wishes to cut up; and its independence, which no one wishes to attack. * * *

Let the hoodwinked Germans allow themselves to be taken in by this subterfuge. The Allies will complete the task they have undertaken.

The mystical malady of the Germans will not fail to prolong the war, bringing greater and greater ruin upon themselves and making heavier the expiation for faults committed.

"Whom the gods will destroy, they first make mad," according to the ancient saying. Thus will be accomplished the words of the Lord:

"They who would be the first, shall be the last."

What Would German Victory Mean?

By Professor Moritz Julius Bonn

Director of the Commercial University of Munich

A GERMAN victory would not mean that the German institutions of today are just the thing for all the world. It would merely show that German institutions are suitable to the genius of the German people. It would not be a justification of monarchy all over the world; it would not reflect glory on Russian absolutism, which, by the way, is the real despotism. It would not endanger the institutions of other people. A German victory does not mean that Switzerland will cease to be a republic and be governed by a Hohenzollern Prince. It does not put American democracy on trial. The test of American democracy is not European achievements in Europe, but American successes at home and abroad. If American democracy solves its own problems it will be justified and need not fear the competition of foreign institutions.

We want a variety of institutions all over the world, not a dead level uniformity for all people. Nations should stick to their own institutions and develop them according to their own ideas. They need not fear disparagement if different institutions of opposite character flourish

under different circumstances. They ought to give up that mischievous idea, born of mediaeval universalism, that they must impress their own institutions on unwilling neighbors. There is no danger that Germany will be influenced by such ideas and try to do missionary work abroad. Quite apart from the intellectual attitude of the German people, which does not favor such universalism, there are twenty-seven different State Constitutions in the German Empire, three of them republican. Even a victorious peace would not give Germany a free hand to overrun the world.

Such a peace would not bring about very great changes in Europe. The occupied parts of France would be given back; Belgium would be released. Very likely Courland, with a population partly German and partly Lithuanian, would be annexed by Germany. Poland would receive autonomy. Austria would probably permit the resuscitation of a somewhat reduced Serbia, for Hungary does not want the annexation of a further batch of Southern Slavs. Bulgaria would get the greater part of new Serbia; Greece might get a part of Albania; Aus-

tria would control the eastern Adriatic coast up to the Greek border. Turkey might lose some outlying districts.

German gains in land, men, and wealth in Europe would be very small, even if the cost of the war was not taken into account. Her colonies would be handed back to her, and in return for the surrender of Belgium and of occupied France she would receive considerable extensions of her possessions in tropical Africa. The addition of some one hundred thousand square miles in tropical Africa would be an important gain to a country like Germany, whose colonial endowment was rather meagre; it would not affect considerably the balance of the world's power.

The cost of such a peace would fall mainly on Russia; a large part of the foreign races which she had oppressed systematically would be freed; her efforts to settle the affairs of the Balkan people in her own selfish interest would be defeated for good. If Turkey ever lost Constantinople, Bulgaria or Greece, which have a racial or historic right to it, would get it. Russia's claim to a warm-water port by the territorial control of a country whose inhabitants are not Russian is a flat negation of the much-vaunted principle of nationality. It is no better than would be a German demand for the Orkney and Shetland Islands and the Strait of Dover, which bar her from the free sea so long as they are occupied by the British. It would be a useless sacrifice of the principle of nationality, as well as of common sense. For the Mediterranean is quite as much an inland sea as the Black Sea, so long as England holds Egypt and the Strait of Gibraltar. And it is not very likely that the British Government will prove its faith in the principle of nationality by handing back Egypt, Gibraltar, and Malta to their rightful owners.

Russia, no doubt, will feel somewhat sore, but, as none of her own people are taken away from her, she will be able to organize them according to their own wants. She has been the great incubus on European politics for many years. That will be removed for some time to

come. But she will gather strength as time goes on and, let us hope, use it in a wise way. She will always be a neighbor of Germany and Austria, though Poland as a buffer State may intervene. If Poland is successful and continues to live in friendly co-operation with Germany and Austria, the Russian danger will be considerably reduced. But the Polish problem is not easily solved. However well organized an autonomous Poland may be, she cannot ever compromise all Poles within her borders; she will always contain many non-Poles—Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Jews. It is scarcely fair to expect such an amount of constructive statesmanship from Polish leaders as to avoid all pitfalls. Whatever is going to happen, Germany will be confronted by new problems in the east, the solution of which no victory in battle can assure.

The alliance between Germany and Austria has grown much firmer during the war. Austria may be weaker than Germany, but she is a big and powerful empire which has shown marvelous vitality. She has her own problems and her own ideas. The majority of her people are not Teutons. Even without important new annexation, the Slavic influence in Austria will grow notwithstanding German and Hungarian resistance.

Austria is not a vassal State of Germany. If the Central Powers had been defeated she might have been shorn of her Slavic provinces and brought into a sort of dependency. As it is, she has been rejuvenated; she will be a faithful partner to Germany in European questions, but she would not sacrifice her manhood for wild plans of German world supremacy, the effects of which would fall on her own people.

France no doubt will be saddened, as she cannot recover Alsace and Lorraine; her losses in men and material have been awful; her military valor is shining more brightly than it ever did.

As to England, she is engaged in the first really costly war that she ever has waged. But, as far as the number of human lives is concerned, she will come off fairly well. Her organization of commerce and finance has been excellent. She would deserve nothing but praise for

the great organization she has evolved, if it were not for the loquacity of her statesmen, who have continually promised goods which they were unable to deliver.

She has shown the world at large that the weapon on which she chiefly relied, sea power, is an excellent secondary instrument, incapable of producing decisive results when used against a strong Continental power. The combined fleet of the Allies has cut off the Central Powers from most of their overseas trade. This is not due to the superiority of the British fleet. It is partly due to geographic position. England holds the keys of the Mediterranean; England and France control the Strait of Dover; the only outlet for German shipping, not directly under the Allies' guns, is the mouth of the North Sea between Norway and Scotland. This opening can be easily patrolled by a fleet stationed in Scotland. Measured by the velocity of modern patrol boats, there is scarcely a greater distance between the Shetland Islands and the Norwegian coast than the width of the Strait of Gibraltar in the days of the sailing vessel. Germany's position here is somewhat similar to that of Russia in relation to the strait at Constantinople. Where geography does not favor British sea power, it has achieved nothing. It has not effected a landing on German soil; it has not kept the German flag away from the Baltic.

Geographical position is but one of the causes of the partial success of the allied blockade. Direct overseas trade in war times is not essential to a country like Germany. The real success of the blockade is due to Russia and France. If they were neutral, Germany could draw from them all the provisions which she might want. The few overseas goods which Europe does not produce would be imported indirectly via France or Russia. Neither of these countries could be forced to prevent the re-exportation of imported goods, as small countries like Holland and Denmark have been for fear of having their own supplies stopped.

It was the custom in other wars to get such supplies in an indirect way; international law specifically provided for the

continuation of this practice, until the Allies broke it. The British Navy has done a great deal of important subsidiary work for the Allies; it has closed a stretch of about 300 miles, stopping Germany's approach to the ocean. The chief blockading is done by the armies on the Continent.

This is not due to want of efficiency on the part of the British Navy. It is due to the inherent limitations of sea power, which this war has clearly brought out. An island country, depending on sea power, can greatly annoy a Continental power. It can destroy its direct overseas trade and interfere with its indirect trade, if the neutrals permit it. It cannot defeat land power except by an alliance with other land powers. While an island power like England or Japan can be crushed on the sea, a Continental power can only be broken on land or in her outlying possessions.

England is a very dangerous enemy if allied to some Continental power; isolated she cannot deal a decisive blow. As her empire is insular, she will always be dependent on sea communications and liable to collapse when they are cut. She can prevent invasion by maintaining a big army; she cannot strike with that army abroad, if no allied or neutral country gives her a chance to land it. The safety of a Continental power cannot be destroyed by sea power; her foreign trade may suffer and her foreign possessions can be kidnapped; only if she embarks on an aggressive overseas policy in foreign lands does she become exposed to decisive blows.

So far as these questions are concerned the war has undoubtedly diminished England's prestige; she will no longer be the proud arbiter in the world's councils. But her own strength has not dwindled; she will be knit more closely with her dominions in a "United Empire" than she ever was before. And since she has learned the art of military organization from the hated Prussian, she will be able to defend herself against all invasion. If she accepts the principle of the free sea, which she herself advocated until lately, she will not be exposed to a policy of starvation.

Germany's Opinion of Wilson as a Mediator

By Count Ernst zu Reventlow

Leading unofficial spokesman of the ruling classes in Germany

Since this article was written Count Reventlow has been forbidden to publish anything without submitting it to the censor. His attack on President Wilson reveals the state of mind underlying the German opposition to American mediation. It also indicates the extent to which the President's motives have been misunderstood in Germany.

IN the course of the last few weeks the motives that guide the policy of President Wilson must have become clearly apparent even to those who had been skeptical up to then. If we look back to the beginning of the great war we see that this Wilson policy has followed an unbroken line from the time when, in the interest of England, American wireless stations were forbidden to transmit German news and news for Germany, to the knocking down of Germany in the submarine question, so characterized by Wilson himself and so joyfully lauded by him. This straight line of policy always is aimed at the same object: To injure and cripple Germany in this war, so as to enrich and strengthen the United States, and, furthermore, to aid the British Empire along every line and with all means in its military operations against Germany.

From month to month in this war the solidarity of the two Anglo-Saxon powers has constantly become more clearly apparent; a solidarity in all matters that affect the German Empire as an opponent, and, consequently, concern its injury and crippling. Beyond this there are naturally many questions where the two Anglo-Saxon powers are opposed to each other and where their paths of interest conflict. These, however, are troubles that can wait until after the war. The war finds them of one mind regarding all the main questions and in league with each other. Besides, in order to make a correct appreciation of persons and things possible, it must be remembered that Wilson in his day was elected with the strong participation of the financial world of Great Britain; therefore, to put it more simply, with English

money. This has been acknowledged in the United States for years, and they justly ascribed the attitude of President Wilson in the Mexican question after his assumption of office to the obligations he had thus incurred.

Unfortunately, we in Germany are still in many instances not free from the delusion that Wilson is an "unworldly scholar," and we allow ourselves to be deceived through the intrigues of the scholar and man of principles into forgetting the fact that these are only superficialities and that behind them stands a shrewd American, free from illusions, and a convinced partisan of the Anglo-Saxon way of looking at the world. But it is understandable enough that Wilson gladly allows himself to be regarded as an unworldly stickler for principles, for tactically this cannot be anything else than useful to him. As has been said, however, his financial connection with Great Britain must not be forgotten, as well as the fact that in this case the interests of British capital and British policy coincide and that already, as a consequence, the policy of the United States must, without more ado, be completely and sympathetically affected.

Mr. Wilson, shortly after he had publicly lauded the knocking down of Germany, delivered a speech in May before a great meeting of the Peace League, in which he declared that he had resolved, as President of the United States, to take an energetic part in the peace negotiations. The United States, he said, was constantly becoming more interested in an early ending of the war, but when the end of the war was seen at hand, then the United States would have the same interest as the belligerent nations in

shaping the peace that was then to come. These alone are weighty utterances. They let the fact be recognized that Wilson wishes to obtain admission to the peace negotiations through his influence as a mediator. However, when the negotiations are begun America's rôle as a mediator ceases, and it will take part in the negotiations on the same footing as every one of the belligerent parties—that is, as the representative of nothing but the interests of the United States. It is self-evident that such a rôle on the part of a State that has taken no active part in the war would be very unusual. We merely wish to draw attention to the main facts in the case: First of all, the United States wants to institute a general peace conference in order then to enter into the negotiations upon the same footing as the belligerents and to throw the entire weight of the United States into the scales in favor of its interests in every question that comes up, without being bound in any way, not even by the rôle of mediator; consequently, it will be in the position constantly to exercise its influence through threats or through direct economic pressure.

From the German point of view the first stumbling block is to be seen in Wilson's declared intention to effect peace at a general conference. We do not know whether it will come about that way, but it certainly would not be desirable so far as German interests are concerned. Therefore, if the United States is working toward bringing such a conference into being, as a matter of course it is working against the interests of Germany. Granting further that the general peace conference is here and that the United States has the position there for which Wilson is wishing and working, there can be no doubt—in view of the attitude of the United States during this war—that the policy of Wilson would work for Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro and against everything that the German Empire imperatively needs for the guaranteeing of its political and economic future. Consequently, the conference would present the picture of our former enemies, who would fight against us in

the peace negotiations with the same energy as they formerly did with arms, being reinforced by a new enemy who would have to be regarded in the peace negotiations as much more dangerous and serious than if he had been one of our opponents during the war.

It is as regrettable as it is remarkable that there are such broad circles in Germany where this simple truth is not recognized. These circles appear to remain rocked to sleep in the illusion that Wilson's ambition is merely "to restore peace to the world" and nothing more. There even arose a sort of "storm" in the German Reichstag recently when the speaker for one of the parties of the Right rejected Wilson in the rôle of a peacemaker and said that the German people had no confidence in the President. Apparently there are wide circles in Germany in which it is not yet understood that the manner in which peace negotiations are begun and the division of forces while they are under way constitute a very weighty part of the war itself, a part whose formation and development can bring about the loss of a mighty part of the gains that have been made by the sword.

The manner in which the peace negotiations are entered upon is not less important than the position assumed by an army or a fleet at the beginning of a battle. These same German circles also do not understand that the peace negotiations will have a direct bearing upon the strength of the respective parties, and that consequently the joining in of the United States, in view of the tendency of its interests and in consideration of its attitude up to the present, would, under all circumstances, signify a great hardship for Germany.

In his speech the President drew a sketch of the foundations upon which he would like to see a future peace erected. The United States wants a permanent peace, and Wilson asserts that such a peace is only possible if the place of the present diplomacy is taken by "the principle of public right." In other words, he wishes to have all questions involving the honor and life of nations settled by international courts. We do not need to waste many words over this. As long as

men are not angels, and as long as a goddess of justice equipped with all the means of executive power does not act as judge, the idea of an international court of arbitration is not adapted to any important problems of international life. As a matter of course, the leading men of the United States regard the rôle they play toward the European nations as that of the powerful and impartial and as the deciding factor in these negotiations. This consideration alone would be enough to cause a general refusal in Germany. The United States, no matter under what President, has never concealed the fact that it regards all Germany's efforts along international lines, both political and economic, as inadmissible and unfriendly act toward the Anglo-Saxon nations. A strong German navy has always been treated in America as a challenge to England and the United States; Germany's possession of Alsace-Lorraine has never been looked upon as anything but robbery; in short, the modern German Empire and the work of the German people which it needs in order to maintain its life in the world are looked upon in the United States as something disturbing to peace and quietness, as something that ought not to exist.

In outlining his foundations Wilson also comes pretty plainly to the decisive points. He wishes "that every nation have the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live," and further that the small States shall have the right to enjoy the same respect, &c., as the big ones. The first point is exactly the same as has been handed out by Asquith, Grey, et al., since the beginning of the war. It is aimed at Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, North Schleswig, Poland, Montenegro, Serbia, &c. The former attempts to extend American influence in Belgium and Poland are now already working in the same direction. About Ireland and India, on the contrary, we have heard nothing so far, and it is significant enough that an honest little pamphlet, which the former American Secretary of State, Bryan, had written about English maladministration in India, was forced to submit during

this war to an order forbidding its exportation. This brochure is not allowed to be sent out of the United States. [Of course this statement is absurd. —Ed. *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.]

Besides, this Wilson "foundation" stipulates, even if not in so many words, the introduction of democratic constitutions. Here again, therefore, we have the same effort as is being made by Great Britain, which at the bottom proceeds from the desire to see the German power, both at home and abroad, ruined through a democratic régime.

Furthermore, Wilson wants to have the basic principle laid down that, "the world to be free from any breach of the peace," and the United States would form part of any imaginable combination that would serve this end. Consequently, Wilson is thinking of some sort of a great international "peace league," similar to the Holy Alliance of a century ago. It is well known that that Holy Alliance was a high-sounding phrase and a big fraud in which supposedly great men were employed, and which, indeed, finally worked out merely to the advantage of England. The English statesmen did not allow themselves to be deceived by these high-sounding phrases, but made use of them. This would also be the case if the Wilson idea were realized, with the single exception that then both Anglo-Saxon powers would talk, with serious faces, of making the world happy, and in the meantime would make themselves masters of the world. When Wilson, in the same connection, repeatedly says that the United States is not selfish and seeks nothing for itself, this is in sharp contradiction with his previous utterances to the effect that when the war should come to an end the United States would have the same interest in the forming of peace as the belligerent nations and that also "humanity" is just as much the affair of the United States as it is that of the other powers. It is possible that the United States does not seek any extension of territory through the war, as it has enough and more than it needs. What it wants is the unrestricted possibility of exploiting its wealth and economic

power in opposition to industrial Europe. And this includes its strong interest in seeing that Germany especially does not again become dangerous as a competitor in the export trade.

The entire Anglo-Saxon element in the United States is thoroughly convinced that Germany is the disturber of the peace. German world commerce, the German Navy, and, consequently, German international policy, are red rags for every Anglo-Saxon American. From this proceeds the manner in which Wilson wants to bring about "the future guaranteeing of peace"—that is, through "a universal association of the nations to maintain inviolate the security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world." Up to the time of "the knocking down" ("Niederboxung") of Germany in the negotiations Wilson took pleasure in talking about the freedom of the seas and repeatedly emphasized in his notes how dear to his heart this freedom was and how his efforts were directed, even during the war, in combination with Germany, toward putting the freedom of the seas into practical operation. Now, after he is convinced that he has obtained from Germany a definite abandonment of the submarine war against merchant vessels, he no longer talks about the freedom of the seas, but about the "security of the highway of the seas." This new turn is openly directed toward having the ban on submarine warfare erected into a principle of international law; otherwise the words are only an empty phrase. In time of peace no internationally guaranteed security of the highway of the seas is needed, as they are free *eo ipso*. But the nicest kind of international conferences and treaties will not succeed in guaranteeing the security of the highway of the seas in a future war, and, indeed, in the sense that Germany needs it—through the guarantee of the German connection with the oceans and their free use both coming and going by German and neutral trading ships. If President Wilson had honestly entertained the wish that he emphasizes now and has formerly emphasized he would have

been able to insure the security of the highway of the seas to a very high degree since August, 1914. If at that time he had placed the United States at the head of neutral seafaring powers, and, in accord with them, had demanded the observance of the Declaration of London, &c., with threats and, in case of necessity, with the application of the means of force at hand, he would have obtained it. Great Britain could easily have been forced to do this by the United States. By doing this and by putting a ban upon the exportation of munitions of war Wilson would, furthermore, have brought about that which he characterizes as his dearest ideal for the future—peace. The interests of a quick peace, which Wilson emphasizes again at the close of his remarks, would also have been served through the German underwater trade war.

He did not wish all that. His idea of the future on the seas is a state of affairs in which no war can be begun unless "the public opinion of the world" has first passed a favorable judgment upon it. We Germans have no confidence in this public opinion of the world, because up to now, and especially during this war, the public opinion of the world, under the influence of anti-German lies, of hate, and of jealousy, has been opposed to a peacefully progressive German people and empire, though this empire simply demanded the place in the world to which it was entitled by its daily proofs of its right to exist. The public opinion of the world will continue to make itself felt against Germany, be it in a military way, in a political way, or in an economic way, as long as those who are envious of us fail to comprehend the entire hopelessness of their efforts. The only way and the only means of arriving at that end and thus insuring a peace, sound in a German sense, lies in the maintaining and the increasing of German power. Certainly that does not stand upon Mr. Wilson's program; on the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon powers and their friends and vassals aim at holding it down and stunting it.

Colonial Policy of the United States

By Professor Brander Matthews*

Of Columbia University

WITH the doubtful exception of Porto Rico, there is scarcely a square mile of all the millions of miles over which the Stars and Stripes now float that was originally won by the sword and continuously held by arms. Texas revolted from Mexico, proclaimed its independence, applied for admission to the United States, and was admitted. In like manner Hawaii came under our flag by the free choice of its inhabitants. And all the rest of our territory, beyond that in our possession when the Constitution was adopted in 1789, was bought and paid for.

We have never rectified our frontiers by forcible annexation. We purchased Louisiana from France in 1803; we purchased Florida from Spain in 1819; and we purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. At the close of the war with Mexico in 1848 we purchased California and what are now its sister States on the Pacific—although it is only honest to admit that this cession was consented to under duress. And at the close of the war with Spain in 1898 we kept Porto Rico, which we had captured, and we paid a price for the Philippines, which the Spaniards were not sorry to part with—if we may credit the report that the islands would have been sold to Germany in case we had not insisted on buying them ourselves. And then finally in 1904 we purchased the Canal Zone from Panama—although it must be admitted that we were very prompt in recognizing the independence of the revolting State.

This is a fairly clean record, in that we have taken little or nothing by forcible annexation. What we have acquired since we became a nation we have paid for in cash. And the cleanness of this record is still further emphasized by our withdrawal from Cuba, which we had

promised not to take, which most European nations expected us to take, and which we did not take in spite of the fact that we had to be invited to return a second time to set its affairs in order.

These successive accretions of our domain were not the result of any predetermined plan of expansion, and they all of them came about more or less unexpectedly. What is more, and what shows the abiding attitude of a large part of our population, is the significant fact that every one of these increases of territory was bitterly opposed by an influential section of the American public. The Federalists, for example, were loud and fierce in their denunciation of Jefferson for the Louisiana Purchase.

Forty years later the hostility to the admission of Texas and to the purchase of California was almost as intense. The frequent proposals made before the civil war for the purchase of Cuba never succeeded in winning popular approval; and even after the civil war, when President Grant negotiated the annexation of Santo Domingo, in 1870, the treaty failed of ratification. And it is within the memory of us all that the opposition to the retention of the Philippines was equally bitter and that it has been even more persistent.

In the Philippines we can never be at home, and we cannot people them. We may continue to possess these islands and to rule their inhabitants, but we must do it always as aliens even if we refrain from rapacious exploitation, and even if we seek to govern solely for the good of the natives. * * * We must never allow ourselves to forget that everywhere and always men dislike being governed except by men of their own race and of their own choice, tacit or expressed. All men detest the rule of the alien, no matter how richly endowed with good intentions the foreign governors may believe themselves to be.

* Condensed from a paper prepared for The New York Times Sunday Magazine.

When all is said the fact remains that the territory of the United States has immensely increased since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that the area of the British Empire has been mightily expanded during the same period, whereas the more recently founded German Empire has had to be satisfied with the snapping up of a few unconsidered trifles, far inferior in value. It is no wonder that there are many Germans who resent this and who ascribe the exclusion to the underhand intrigues of rival peoples. They see that the Monroe Doctrine debars them from acquiring territory in South America, where there are already tens of thousands of Germans, and they see also that the British and the Russians recently outmanoeuvred them in what seems to amount almost to a partition of Persia. Yet an American may wonder whether the German desire for colonies is not largely imitative and whether it is in accord with the best interests of Germans themselves. Germany has now no surplus population. In consequence of its soaring industrial development emigration has almost ceased, and in 1913 half a million laborers had to be imported to gather the German harvests.

Moreover, it may be suggested that the German insistence on rigid organization is a hindrance to effective colonization. What is needed in a new country is freedom of individual initiative, liberty to turn around swiftly to meet novel conditions, and little more administration than is requisite for the maintenance of peace and order. It is significant that the Germans themselves do not flock into the existing German colonies, and that the German settlers in Brazil have never been heard to express any desire to be incorporated in the German Empire. * * *

We have not the political machinery for ruling alien races; and to attempt to rule them is not in accord with our political ideals, which compel us to base our form of government on the consent of the governed. So long as the people of any community are fitted for self-government by descent or by long training, we can make them welcome,

as we should gladly receive the Canadians, if they wished to join us and if the British were willing to release them from their allegiance to the crown. To admit the Canadians upon an equal footing with ourselves would put very little strain upon our political fabric. But we are not likely ever to be willing to confer full citizenship upon the Mexicans, if they were to clamor at our doors for admission into the Union. That they should ever so clamor is most improbable; but it is even more improbable that we should yield to their appeal.

The Mexican peon is at present as unfit or as ill-prepared for American citizenship as the Filipino. And it is for the Mexicans, as it is for the Cubans, to work out their own political salvation as best they can. Quite possibly it would be better for the Mexicans if we controlled Mexico; but it would certainly be worse for us.

And in matters of so much importance we have a right to be selfish and to refuse to endanger our own political ideals for the sake of strangers without the gates.

Furthermore, if the opinions expressed in this paper are those of a majority of the citizens of the United States, if it is a fact that we have no desire to go on increasing our possessions, either by annexing territory adjoining our borders or by acquiring distant colonies, if we really shrink from rivalry with the European empires in the game of greedily grabbing alien lands, then it would be wise for us to let the whole world know this so plainly that there would be no doubt about our intentions. The economic competition of the leading nations is not likely to be relaxed in the immediate future, in fact, it will probably be furiously intensified; and economic rivalry is ever an existing cause of international jealousy and international suspicion. It is not enough that we should be resolved to keep our hands clean, as we have done in Cuba; it is needful also that we should at least try to make rival and jealous and suspicious peoples believe that our hearts are pure and devoid of vain desire to despoil any State weaker than we are.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

By The Editor

The Monroe Doctrine receives a fresh vitality and new significance in consequence of the great European war and the general political unrest which it produces throughout the world. The actual text of the doctrine appeared in the annual message of President James Monroe, communicated to Congress Dec. 2, 1823, and is as follows:

*" * * * In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been deemed proper for asserting, as a principle in which rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. * * * We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."*

THE origin of the Monroe Doctrine begins with the preliminary discussions in the Continental Congress. As early as 1776 Benjamin Franklin declared it a bad policy to send American agents abroad to seek foreign alliances and warmly opposed the proposition. Although he was defeated, he later himself became the efficient agent who consummated our subsequent alliance with France.

George Washington, in his farewell address in 1796, enunciated the doctrine of America for Americans in these words:

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise for us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. * * *

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. * * * Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation [our

detached position]? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe entangle our peace and prosperity in the tasks of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? * * *

The policy was laid down also by Jefferson and Madison that there should be no "entangling alliances with any foreign nation," but it was not until after the war of 1812 that international questions arose which convinced our statesmen that to this general prohibition must be added a warning that European interference with this continent would not be tolerated.

The principal events which brought about the enunciation of the doctrine were twofold.

In the early days of 1800 a dispute arose between the United States and Great Britain and Russia

over the boundaries of the Northwestern Territory, (now Oregon, Alaska, and British Columbia,) and there was considerable uneasiness that there might arise from this controversy serious consequences.



JAMES MONROE

July 2, 1823, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, communicated as follows to Richard Rush, who was our Minister at the Court of St. James's, in discussing a possible solution of the question:

These independent nations [that is, those of South America and Mexico] will possess rights incident to that condition [settlement of the controversy] and their territories will of course be subject to no exclusive right of navigation in their vicinity or of access to them by any foreign nation. A necessary consequence of this state of things will be that the American continents henceforth will no longer be subject to colonization by civilized nations; they will be accessible to Europeans and each other on that footing alone; and the Pacific Ocean, in every part of it, will remain open to the navigation of all nations in like manner with the Atlantic.

On July 17, 1823, Mr. Adams is quoted in George R. Tucker's *History of the Monroe*

Doctrine (1885) in an interview with the Russian Ambassador regarding the territorial dispute as follows: "We [the United States] should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments.

Portentous occurrences in Europe hastened the proclamation of the doctrine, the germ of which appears in the preceding paragraph.

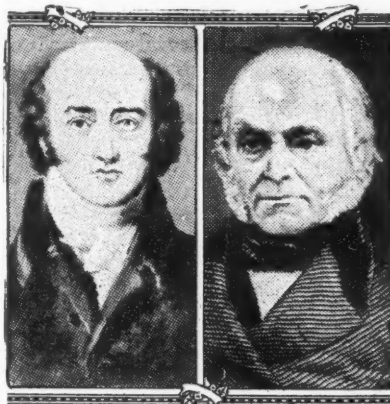
For centuries the right was conceded among European powers to interfere whenever the ambitious designs of any of the rulers tended to disturb the "balance of power," but it was not conceived as applying in any way to the acquisition of territory outside of Europe. The autocratic Governments adhered to this agreement and used it as a basis for a further extension. When the French Revolution began it was supposed that they should all intervene to suppress

it, and Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Russia did actually interfere, though England held aloof at first, but finally became involved.

After Waterloo, Russia, Austria, and Prussia entered into an alliance, known as "The Holy Alliance." It has been generally believed the main purpose of the agreement was to suppress revolutionary movements and the spread of liberal ideas. In September, 1818, the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle convened, with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia participating. It was here decided to remove the army of occupation from France and uphold Louis XVIII. on his throne, and there was a supposed understanding, though no specific agreement, that whenever absolutism was imperiled there should be interference. Another

congress was held in 1820, and it was then proposed to interfere in the affairs of Naples, where a revolution had broken out. England protested, and would have nothing to do with it, yet Austria proceeded and restored the monarch at Naples.

In 1822 another congress of the powers was held at Verona to consider an insurrection which had broken out in Spain the year before, and it is here that the interests of the United States became seriously involved. England's envoy at the Verona Congress was the Duke of Wellington. Spain was in sore straits with rebellion at home and the flames of revolution were alight in all her South American and Central American colonies, which declared their independence in rapid succession. She was powerless to suppress the revolt, and it was proposed that the powers come to her assistance. All agreed except England. She again refused to interfere, but, disregarding her protest, the others went ahead; France sent an army into



GEORGE CANNING JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Photo Underwood & Underwood

Spain and suppressed the uprising there.

The question now arose regarding the American colonies of Spain. Spain was unable to re-establish her authority, and, without England's co-operation as mistress of the seas, the other powers were disinclined to proceed. England was beginning already to feel the influence of the liberalism which was pervading her domain and which resulted within a few years in the Reform bills. Moreover, by the restoration of the South American colonies to Spain her trade would undoubtedly be reduced and imperiled.

Canning was at the head of British Foreign Affairs. In August, 1823, a few months after the Verona Congress and before any steps had been taken with reference to the South American republics, Mr. Canning proposed to our Minister, Mr. Rush, that

the Governments of England and of the United States should publish a joint declaration before Europe in opposition to the designs of the alliance in regard to the Western Hemisphere, the substance of which should be that, while the two Governments desired no portion of those colonies for themselves, they would not view with indifference any foreign intervention in their affairs or their acquisition by any third power; that a proposal be made to the other powers for a congress to consider the affairs of Spanish America, and that Great Britain would not participate in its councils unless the United States was also represented.*

Minister Rush explained the traditional policy of non-interference by the United States in European politics. He stated that the United States had already recognized the independence of the South American States, and that if England would do likewise he would unite in a "joint declaration." This Mr. Canning declined to do, but he did inform France that England would not permit European interference in Spanish American affairs, and France surprised him by readily acquiescing in the opinion that the new republics in South America were forever lost to Spain.

The suggestions of the British Foreign Minister to the American Minister brought matters quickly to a head. President Monroe regarded the situation as

very grave, and asked for opinions from the two living ex-Presidents, Jefferson and Madison.

Madison was brief. He thought that there was a call "for our efforts to defeat the meditated crusade."

Jefferson wrote as follows:

The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

The President's message bears date Dec. 2, 1823. Shortly after its beginning appears the following passage:

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

Later on, just before the close of the message, the President says:

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries,

*Tucker's "The Monroe Doctrine."

and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. *With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America.* This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, *to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere; but the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on a principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what ex-

tent such interposition may be carried on the same principle is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote; and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and these new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

The doctrine remained quiescent, after 1824, being regarded rather as an academic utterance, especially as the European powers in 1830 had abandoned the system of forcible interference, but it was reasserted by President Polk in 1845 as a settled and definite policy of this Government. In 1845, when the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary flared up, the President in his message to Congress, referring to this dispute as well as to the hint that if the United States annexed Texas, (which was then being discussed,) Europe might intervene, said:

In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe. * * * It should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American Continent.

It will be noted that President Polk confined the inhibition to North America, but added that word "dominion," which in international usage implies the volun-

tary acquisition by purchase or transfer of allegiance.

Again, in 1848, he was even more definite. Yucatan, which was then independent of Mexico, being unable to suppress an Indian revolution, offered to transfer "its dominion and sovereignty" to the United States, and made similar offers to Great Britain and Spain. The President in a message to Congress did not recommend its acceptance by the United States, but added: "We could not consent to a transfer of this 'dominion and sovereignty' to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power."

It was thus proclaimed to be the American policy that:

(A) European powers could not exchange or transfer to each other colonial possessions on the Western Hemisphere.

(B) They could not acquire either dominion or sovereignty over any territory on the Western Hemisphere not already possessed, even where there was a voluntary cession.

(C) The policy was not limited to North America, but embraced the entire hemisphere.

Nothing further occurred to revive the doctrine until 1866, when a serious question arose over the ambitions of France to establish Maximilian on the throne of Mexico.

Oct. 31, 1861, England, France, and Spain agreed to invade the Republic of Mexico in order to collect certain claims due subjects of the three nations and to chastise Mexico for her delinquency. The invasion took place, but Spain and England withdrew; Napoleon III. persisted, and the French landed an army and overthrew the Mexican Government. An election was held under bayonet rule, and Maximilian, a scion of the Austrian Hapsburgs, was placed upon the throne. The United States protested, but was too busily engaged at that time with its own troubles to go further, but as soon as our war ceased, an army of 40,000 troops was mobilized on the Mexican frontier, opposite Matamoros, where the French Army had its headquarters. Napoleon did not wish a clash with the United States, which was inevitable if his troops remained, and in utter disregard of his

pledge to uphold the throne of Maximilian he withdrew his army; the Mexicans revolted and overthrew Maximilian, and subsequently executed him.

The first recognition by Congress of the Monroe Doctrine arose out of the Mexican situation. On April 4, 1864, the House of Representatives resolved unanimously that:

The Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico, and that they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical Government erected on the ruins of any Republican Government in America under the auspices of any European power.

This is the nearest express legislative sanction that the doctrine had so far received. At the time it was proclaimed Mr. Clay offered in the House of Representatives in January, 1824, a joint resolution by which it was declared that the people of the United States "would not see, without serious inquietude, any forcible intervention by the allied powers of Europe, in behalf of Spain," to reduce her colonies to subjection, but no action was taken upon this resolution. Congress, however, took definite action in the Venezuelan crisis in 1895, referred to below, and again in 1912, when a resolution of Senator Lodge was adopted, with but four dissenting votes, by the United States Senate, which was a formal reaffirmation of the doctrine, and at the same time notice to Japan that this Government would not tolerate the establishment of a naval base on the Mexican Coast, it being then reported that Japan contemplated such action at Magdalena Bay.

The resolution was as follows:

Resolved, That when any harbor or other place in the American Continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government not American as to give that country practical control for national purposes.

This not being a joint resolution, it did not require the concurrence of the House

or the signature of the President; it was a formal expression of the Senate alone. The House took no action.

This resolution goes further in the application of the original Monroe Doctrine in that it commits the United States henceforth to prohibit acts by foreign corporations or associations which heretofore only foreign nations have been forbidden to do.

Prior to the Maximilian episode and after the Polk Administration, that is, during the decade preceding our civil war, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, in 1851, in view of a proposed engagement between Spain, Great Britain, and France to guarantee Spanish possession of Cuba, sent this notice to Great Britain:

"It has always been declared to Spain that the Government of the United States could not be expected to acquiesce in the cession of Cuba to any European power."

Again, during the civil war, Spain attempted to recover Santo Domingo, but failed, and afterward Santo Domingo, unable to secure itself against possible European aggression, sought annexation to the United States, and a treaty was negotiated, but not confirmed. In sending the treaty to the Senate President Grant wrote:

"The doctrine promulgated by President Monroe has been adhered to by all political parties, and I now deem it proper to assert the equally important principle that hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject of transfer to a European power."

It was, however, in 1895, during the Administration of President Cleveland, that the doctrine received its most specific and menacing import.

For nearly half a century there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over certain boundary lines. In 1887 the dispute had become so acute that diplomatic relations between the two countries ceased. Great Britain extended the area of British Guiana until in 1887 the territory of Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco River was reduced about two-thirds, 70,000 square miles. The controversy had proceeded many years; in fact, in 1876

Venezuela asked the United States to aid her in the discussion. When the last demand by England was made and the enormous slice of territory lopped off, Venezuela again appealed to the United States to intercede, and England was requested by our Government to submit the matter to arbitration, which was refused, and matters were at an impasse and there was constant danger of a break between the United Kingdom and the South American republic.

When Cleveland assumed office in 1895 Ambassador Bayard was again instructed to request England to arbitrate the matter, but he was curtly informed that Great Britain "could not consent to any departure from the Schomburgk line," which line cut off much Venezuelan territory. Congress approved the President's recommendation of arbitration, and on July 20, 1895, Secretary of State Olney dispatched his historic instructions to Ambassador Bayard. In this communication he asserted the right of one nation to intervene in a controversy to which other nations are directly parties "whenever what is done or proposed by any of the parties primarily concerned is a serious menace to its own integrity, tranquillity, and welfare." He then discussed the Monroe Doctrine and affirmed that, while it did not establish a protectorate over other American States, it did not relieve any of them from "obligations as fixed by international law, nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them," but that its "single purpose and object" was that "no European power or combination of powers" should "forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies." He argued that this principle was involved in the present controversy, because territory was involved, and this meant "political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other." He said that "the United States, being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know

whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on." He affirmed: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." He closed with the statement that it was the "unmistakable and imperative duty of the President to ask" for a definite decision upon the point "whether Great Britain will consent or will decline to submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration."

Lord Salisbury in his reply claimed that the United States was insisting upon a new and extended interpretation of the doctrine. He said: "It is admitted that he (President Polk) did not seek to assert a protectorate over Mexico or the States of Central or South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of these States, and consequently the responsibility of controlling it. * * * It follows of necessity if the Government of the United States will not control the conduct of these communities, neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which they may be guilty toward other nations."

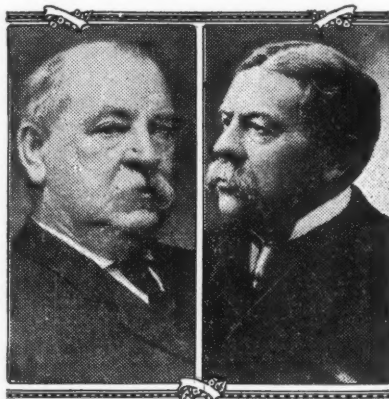
President Cleveland, on receipt of England's refusal to arbitrate, submitted the entire matter to Congress in a startling message, in which he declared "the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement tends to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our Republic endures."

"If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise."

Congress provided for a separate American commission to investigate the boundary question, but before it could report Great Britain receded and signed an arbitration agreement with Venezuela.

Though she was awarded practically all the disputed area, she yielded to the American interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine rather than go to war with us, and Congress specifically upheld the widened scope of its interpretation by fully indorsing the position of President Cleveland.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 gave a new significance to the Monroe Doctrine. The acquisition by the United States of colonial possessions in the remote Pacific, 3,000 miles from our shores, and in the Atlantic, nearly 1,000 miles from the continental boundary; the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Cuba, and a universal acknowledgment that by this war the United States had emerged from its provincial isolation into a world power, invested the doctrine with a more portentous meaning. The first manifestation was the need for the Panama Canal, but before it could be proceeded with it was felt that a treaty with England negotiated in 1850, known as the Clayton-



GROVER CLEVELAND

RICHARD OLNEY

Photo © Pach Bros. Photo Paul Thompson

Bulwer treaty, must be abrogated. That treaty stipulated terms for the building of a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and provided for the complete neutralization of the canal, with no fortifications by either power. It marked a departure from our past tradition that we would not enter into agreements with any European power concerning purely American affairs, for it was, in effect, a partnership with Great Britain in this great work, and proved an insurmountable obstacle to its construction. As early as 1881 it was recognized that this treaty stood in the way of a canal, and negotiations were begun for its abrogation, but they were not consummated until 1901, when the treaty was abrogated and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty substituted, which gave the United States exclusive and independent authority to build and own the canal.

The evolution of the extension of the Monroe Doctrine followed as a natural corollary the building of the canal. The first and most serious question that was precipitated was the danger of foreign occupation of Central American States in order to enforce the collection of debts. The first of these arose in 1904, with relation to Santo Domingo. For years that country had been torn by revolutions, and its credit was entirely destroyed. What little money could be borrowed was loaned at usurious rates, with the revenues of the country pledged as collateral. Even this interest was defaulted, and Germany, Italy, and Spain entered into a mutual agreement to enforce the claims of their citizens, and an Italian warship was actually sent to Dominican waters to carry their threat into execution. The Dominican Government appealed to the United States for assistance, and this resulted in an arrangement whereby the Custom Houses of the republic were to be placed in the hands of American officials and a portion of the receipts were to be held in deposit in New York for the benefit of the creditors; finally, the debts were readjusted and the United States was allowed to collect and administer the customs revenues, the officials being under the protection of this Government.

This arrangement has worked out very satisfactorily and proved entirely agreeable to the foreign creditors. The country made much progress under the arrangement, and there was peace there until recently a new revolution occurred, but, thanks to American protection, it did not imperil the revenue receipts nor jeopardize the ability to meet the interest obligations as they mature. This same condition is now virtually in force also in Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and it may be truthfully said that the four republics are now under the protection of the United States as respects their revenue from customs, with a guarantee that the customs officials will be protected from revolutionary bands or bandits and the revenue receipts will be properly applied to the payment of legal and just interest obligations.

Our Government has never maintained that the Monroe Doctrine committed us to any sort of protectorate over the independent States of this hemisphere, so that we would be in any way called upon to espouse their quarrels. We always admitted that they were responsible for their own misconduct and could be held to a strict enforcement of their obligations. In 1861 we admitted the right of France, Spain, and Great Britain to proceed by force against Mexico for the satisfaction of just claims.

As evidence that we did not consider ourselves the guardians of the South American republics, John Bassett Moore, former Counselor of the State Department, cites the following instances as illustrating our refusal to interfere with the affairs of South or Central American republics: In 1842 and 1844 Great Britain blockaded a part of Nicaragua for a claim without our protest, and in 1851 she laid an embargo on the Port of Salvador; in 1862 she seized Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters in reprisal for the plundering of a British bark on the Brazilian coast. In 1838 France blockaded Mexican ports, and in 1845 Great Britain and France blockaded the Port of Buenos Aires for the purpose of securing the independence of Uruguay. In 1865 Spain was at war with the republics on the west coast of South Amer-

ica, which continued for many years. She bombarded Valparaiso during that conflict. A United States man-of-war dispersed a squatter colony from Buenos Aires from the Falkland Islands, and in 1854, for failure to obtain an indemnity of \$24,000 from Greytown for destruction of property and an apology for an affront to our Minister, we bombarded the place and burned the city. In 1890, while the Pan-American Congress was in session, Congress authorized the President to use force, if necessary, to collect a debt from Venezuela, and in 1892 we sent an ultimatum to Chile, with which she complied.

The latest interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine prior to the passage of the Root resolution referred to above occurred during the consideration of the Dominican treaty. In 1905 President Roosevelt said:

"If a republic to the south of us commits a tort against a foreign nation, such as an outrage against a citizen of that nation, then the Monroe Doctrine does not force us to interfere to prevent punishment of that tort, save to see that the punishment does not assume the form of territorial occupation in any shape."

He also held:

"On the one hand, this country would certainly decline to go to war to prevent a foreign Government from collecting a just debt; on the other hand, it is very inadvisable to permit any foreign power to take possession, even temporarily, of the Custom Houses of an American republic in order to enforce the payment of its obligations, for such temporary occupation might turn into permanent occupation."

And he concludes:

"The only escape from these alternatives may at any time be that we must ourselves undertake to bring about some arrangement by which as much as possible of a just obligation shall be paid. It is far better that this country should put through such an arrangement rather than allow any foreign country to undertake it."

The latest blockading of a coast on this hemisphere by foreign fleets occurred in 1902. Germany, England, and

Italy, finding themselves unable to collect certain debts from Venezuela, planned to blockade her coasts and seize her Custom Houses. Germany recognized the Monroe Doctrine might become involved and sent to the Secretary of State information of the proposed blockade, with the assurance, "We declare especially that under no circumstances do we consider in our proceedings the acquisition or the permanent occupation of Venezuelan territory." The blockade began Dec. 10, 1902, without protest from the United States, but within three months, through the good offices of the United States, a compromise was effected and the blockade lifted.

As late as Nov. 27, 1914, ex-President Taft, in a carefully prepared address on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine, maintained that no obligation of international law rests on the United States to enforce the doctrine, nor upon any foreign State to observe it. "It rests primarily upon the danger to the interest and safety of the United States, and therefore the nearer to her boundaries the attempted violation of the doctrine the more directly her safety is affected and the more acute her interest." He maintains that the extent of our intervention to enforce the policy is a matter of our own judgment, with a notice that it covers all America, and he declared that, so far as it applies to countries as remote as Chile, Brazil, or Argentina, it is now never likely to be pressed, first because of their own ability to protect themselves, and second because of their remoteness. Mr. Taft held that if Germany during the present war were to send a naval or military force to Canada and wage war upon the soil of the Dominion, this would not be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, provided she stopped there, and that we would have cause to protest only if Germany endeavored to take over Canadian territory and establish her own government there.

President Wilson has on frequent occasions taken a position with reference to the doctrine similar to that of President Roosevelt. He has specifically disclaimed any aggressive attitude toward the South or Central American republics and has

asserted several times that the United States would never seek to secure any additional territory by conquest. He has gone a step further than his predecessors by firmly opposing revolutionary movements of political freebooters in the unstable republics, and has asserted that he will protect them, as far as possible, from exploitation by unscrupulous adventurers and freebooting concession seekers.

The Monroe Doctrine has never before been so firmly held as a vital part of the fabric of our Government, and the

recognition of its legality by all the powers of the world during the past ninety years was never so definitely established as at the present time. It is a favorite argument of advocates of preparedness to affirm that unless we are prepared to defend the doctrine with an army large enough and a fleet powerful enough to meet any enemy the doctrine will become a dead letter and we shall risk all the perils which might follow its abrogation at the pleasure of any nation that covets territory on this hemisphere.

Digging Song: A Bavarian Protest

Among the letters and papers found in German trenches at Verdun was a diary kept by a Bavarian Corporal named Sanktus. It contains a poem entitled "Schanzlied," or "Digging Song," signed "von Sanktus." Facsimiles of the original German script have been published in the English papers. Herewith we give a rough translation of the whole poem:

Come on, all you fellows, let each take his spade,
For the trench work that we must be plying,
An underground dugout must also be made,
As a place for the Prussian to lie in;
Wherever the fighting is done under earth,
Bavarians are wanted and have, too, their worth.
(Repeat.)

The gallant Bavarians—this is their fate:
At every one's pipe to be jigging;
While the lazybone Prussian reposes in state,
The Bavarian's delving and digging;
He's kept at it still—with no chance of escape;
For there must be commands, and there must be red tape.

The Prussian is fed like an ox in a stall,
Or his gullet would split with his gaping,
But the hungry Bavarian gets nothing at all,
'Tis the veriest fast that he's keeping;
Bavarian, then what will happen to you
With nothing but digging and dog's work to do?

The Frenchman, he doth the Bavarian dread—
He takes good care not to attack him;
But seeing the skunk of a Prussian instead,
He's ready to go in and whack him;
Out of the trenches the Prussian must clear—
Why didn't they put us Bavarians there?

So long live the gallant Bavarian corps,
To them be a coat of arms given;
Two shovels laid crosswise, a pickaxe before,
And, as a supporter, a bavin—
The best of all badges for each common man,
Who digs when he's got to, and digs when he can.



FUNERAL OF YUAN SHIH-KAI, JUNE 28, 1916. A PROCESSION A MILE LONG ESCORTED THE DEAD PRESIDENT FROM THE SUMMER PALACE IN PEKING TO THE RAILWAY STATION, WHENCE HE WAS BORNE TO HONAN PROVINCE FOR BURIAL ON HIS OWN ESTATE.

The Fight for the Republic in China

The Story of a Conspiracy

By W. Reginald Wheeler

IF it were not for the all-absorbing cataclysm in Europe, all eyes would be turned toward the Orient and the great movements now in evidence there. Certainly the developments in India and Japan since the great war began are of vast importance in the molding of the future of Asia. But it is in China, especially during the past year, that events of unique interest have taken place. The sudden clamor for the change of the infant republic into a monarchy, which began last Fall; the continued agitation for this transformation in the form of government, culminating on Dec. 11 in the unanimous vote of the Convention of Representatives of the Citizens for a Monarchy, with Yuan Shih-kai at its head; the gradual appearance of a most serious opposition, resulting in the revolt of the southern provinces; the sudden cancellation of the monarchy of Yuan Shih-kai on March 22; the effort to oust Yuan as President, ending dramatically with his death on June 6, and the election of Li Yuan-hung as President in his stead—these are a few of the main events in one of the most absorbing, hard-won fights between democ-

racy and autocracy in the life of any nation.

It is this fight for the republic in China that I wish to discuss in the light of some recently published documents which reveal the contest in its true aspect as a great struggle for republican ideals; a struggle in which America should have a very real interest and sympathy.

The political situation in China last Fall was full of mystery. Since the dissolution of Parliament by Yuan Shih-kai in 1913 the republic has been one in name rather than in fact; but the speed with which the monarchical movement gained headway in the Fall of 1915 surprised most onlookers. The sentiment among the middle and lower classes of the Yang-tse Valley and the south seemed strongly against the monarchy and against Yuan Shih-kai for apparently supporting it. I talked with men of all classes—ricksha coolies, Confucian scholars, Buddhist priests, and returned students, and every one, after taking due precaution against being overheard, came out in support of the republic and denounced Yuan. Dr. Morrison, after a tour of inspection of the Yang-tse Valley,

described the sentiment of the people as one of "solid resentment" against the whole movement.

The feeling was even stronger in the south. There were certain indications that Yuan Shih-kai was acquiescent in, if, indeed, not a supporter of, the movement. Persistent rumors came from close friends of his in the capital that he was influenced by his sons to make the change for the latters' benefit as his successors. Only former officials and friends of the administration were allowed to vote in December. The editor of one of the Monarchist newspapers in Shanghai, which was blown up by the Republicans, stated outright amid the smoking ruins of his office that he had special permission from the Central Government for his propaganda. But the recent publishing by the Republican Government of over sixty secret communications of Yuan Shih-kai's Government preceding and during the election last Fall has brought out clearly the entire situation; the whole monarchical effort, in the words of Putnam Weale of Peking, is stamped as "a cool and singular plan to forge a national mandate which has few equals in history."

The chief communications have just been published by the Republican Government of China under the title, "The People's Will: An Exposure of the Political Intrigues at Peking Against the Republic of China," with the quotation subjoined, "Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God." I shall quote from some of the more important telegrams; the whole group deserves to be studied, just as the multi-colored books of diplomatic correspondence of Europe have been studied because of their influence in shaping the destiny of their respective continents.

In publicly beginning its propaganda in August, the monarchical movement very cleverly used a statement of Dr. Francis J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University and American adviser to the Chinese Government. Dr. Goodnow's opinion was purely an academic one; he stated that a change from a republic to a monarchy could be suc-

cessfully made under three conditions: First, that the peace of the country was not thereby imperiled; second, that the laws of succession should first be securely fixed; third, provision should be made for some form of constitutional government. Of course, the Monarchists, in quoting this opinion, entirely omitted these conditional clauses.

On Aug. 16 the Chou An Hui (Society for the Preservation of Peace) published its first manifesto referring to this statement. Yuan Shih-kai, in a speech before the Tsan Chang Yuan, or State Council, said among other things: "I regard the proposed change as unsuitable to the circumstances of the country." But on Aug. 30 the first secret telegram was dispatched from Peking concerning the proposed change of government. It was a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors of the provinces, to be deciphered personally by them with the Council of State code. After certain initial steps are mentioned in detail, the document reads:

The plan suggested is for each province to send in a separate petition, the draft of which will be made in Peking and wired to the respective provinces in due course. * * * You will insert your own name as well as those of the gentry and merchants of the province who agree to the draft. These petitions are to be presented one by one to the Legislative Council as soon as it is convoked. At all events, the change in the form of the State will have to be effected under color of carrying out the people's will.

As leading members of political and military bodies, we should wait till the opportune moment arrives when we will give collateral support to the movement. Details of the plan will be made known to you from time to time.

The Monarchical Society, realizing that matters had progressed sufficiently by this time for it to assert itself, on Sept. 27, under the leadership of Yang Tu and Sun Yu-chun, dispatched a code telegram to the Military and Civil Governors, asserting that all danger of a true expression of provincial wishes must be eradicated. The telegram offers suggestions regarding the government of the different districts and then concludes:

In order to clothe the proceedings with an appearance of regularity, the representatives

of the districts, though they are really appointed by the highest military and civil officials of the province, should still be nominally elected by the districts. As soon as the representatives of the districts have been appointed, their names should be communicated to the respective district magistrates, who are to be instructed to draw up the necessary documents in detail, and to cause a formal election to be held. Such documents should, however, be properly antedated.

On Sept. 29 Chu Chi-chun, Military Governor of Mukden, representing the Administrative Council, telegraphed as follows:

While the plan of organization is determined by the Administrative Council, the carrying out of the ulterior object of such plan rests with the superintendents in chief of the election. They should, therefore, assume a controlling influence over the election proceedings and utilize them to the best advantage. The representatives of the citizens should be elected, one for each district wherever possible, from among the officials who are connected with the various Government organs in the provincial capital, so that there may be no misunderstanding as to the real object of voting.

This telegram proves conclusively that the representative organ of the people was wholly under the control of high officials and was "utilized" by them "to the best advantage," and that the representatives themselves were to be chosen from among those connected with the Government organizations in the various provincial capitals.

Again, on Oct. 10, a telegram from the National Convention Bureau read:

Special attention should be paid to the qualifications of those who are to be elected at the primaries held in the districts in connection with the National Assembly, since it is from these candidates that the citizens' representatives will have to be selected. * * * We trust the superintendents of the primaries will thoroughly understand our implied meaning, and utilize the proceedings to suit our purpose. * * * They should, before the voting, carefully consider what sort of men are those who are qualified to be elected, and select those who are good-natured and obsequious and of the same mind as ourselves. These are to be considered as the persons who should be elected. The superintendents will then judiciously assign their names to the several voters, and request them to vote as directed. If they find any difficulty in carrying out these instructions, they should not hesitate to use measures which in effect are coercive, though not so in appearance.

On October 11 the National Convention Bureau sent the following telegram:

The future peace and safety of the nation depend upon the documents exchanged between the Government organs at Peking and those in the provinces. Should any of these come to the notice of the public, the blame for failure to keep official secrets will be laid upon us. Moreover, as these documents concern the very foundation of the State, they will, in case they become known, leave a dark spot on the political history of our country. Upon their secrecy depends our national honor and prestige in the eyes of both our own people and foreigners. * * * We hope you will appoint one of your confidential subordinates to be specially responsible for the safe custody of the secret documents.

Despite the increasing unrest among the people, a circular telegram was dispatched on Oct. 23, which apparently "drove the last nail into the coffin of the Chinese Republic." It was a "nomination" of Yuan Shih-kai, and read:

The letters of nomination to be sent in after the form of State shall have been put to the vote, must contain the following words: "We, the citizens' representatives, by virtue of the will of the citizens, do hereby respectfully nominate the present President Yuan Shih-kai as Emperor of the Chinese Empire, and invest him to the fullest extent with all the supreme sovereign rights of the State. He is appointed by Heaven to ascend the Throne and to transmit it to his heirs for ten thousand generations." These characters, forty-five in all, must not be altered on any account.

Before the form of the State has been settled, the letters of nomination must not be made public. A reply is requested.

A few days later—Oct. 28—the attention of the Central Government was drawn by England, Japan, and Russia (latter backed by France and Italy as allies) toward the inadvisability of taking steps that would threaten the peace of China; but Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied that it was too late to retract, as the matter had already been decided. When their surprise over this unexpected answer had subsided, those in charge of the plot sent the following state telegram to the provinces:

A certain foreign power, under the pretext that the Chinese people are not of one mind and that troubles are to be apprehended, has lately forced England and Russia to take part in tendering advice to China. In truth, all foreign nations know perfectly well that there

will be no trouble, and they are obliged to follow the example of that power. If we accept the advice of other powers concerning our domestic affairs and postpone the enthronement, we should be recognizing their right to interfere. Hence, action should under no circumstances be deferred. When all the votes of the provinces unanimously recommending the enthronement shall have reached Peking, the Government will, of course, ostensibly assume a wavering and compromising attitude, so as to give due regard to international relations. The people, on the other hand, should show their firm determination to proceed with the matter at all costs, so as to let the foreign powers know that our people are of one mind. If we can only make them believe that the change of the republic into a monarchy will not in the least give rise to trouble of any kind, the effects of the advice tendered by Japan will ipso facto come to nought.

On Dec. 21 was played the last act in the drama. Forty-eight hours before General Tsai Ao threw down the gauntlet in Yunnan, because of the strange quiet that pervaded the country the Monarchists boldly determined to pay no further heed to any suggestion that they withdraw from their purpose, even though force be threatened. For it had been discovered, after the ballot boxes were opened on Dec. 11 that every voter had cast his ballot for Yuan Shih-kai to be Emperor! And he, isolated in his palace from the populace and deceived by his followers, had accepted the nomination.

All that remained now was to blot out every trace of the conspiracy, that the deceit "should not stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty," as a later telegram read, which is in part quoted below:

No matter how carefully their secrets may have been guarded, [it asserts,] still they remain as permanent records which might compromise us; and in the event of their becoming known to foreigners we shall not escape severe criticism and bitter attacks, and, what is worse, should they be handed down as part of the national records, they will stain the opening pages of the history of the new dynasty. The Central Government, after carefully considering the matter, has concluded that it would be better to sort out and burn the documents so as to remove all unnecessary records and prevent regrettable consequences. For these reasons you are hereby requested to sift out all telegrams, letters, and dispatches concerning the changes in the form of the State, whether official or private, whether received from Peking or the

provinces, (excepting those required by law to be filed on record,) and cause the same to be burned in your presence.

Such intrigues were certain to bear fruit, and on Dec. 23 Tang Chi-Yao, Tutuh of Yunnan, revolted and blazed the way for the rebellion which ultimately should oust Yuan from the throne. He declared that Yuan had been guilty of "deliberately misrepresenting the people's will by inducements and threats," and took his stand once more for the republic. Yunnan was followed by Kwei Chow.

Despite this protest, the beginning of the new dynasty was set for Jan. 1 of the new year, and the Government buildings in Nanking and other cities were decorated with the national flag in honor of the event. Memorials praying for an early ascension of the throne were sent to Peking by various Monarchists. But on Jan. 26 the Emperor, dubbed the Ta Huang Ti by the Peking Gazette, a Republican sympathizer, announced that the enthronement would be postponed, saying in part: "The Province of Yunnan is opposing the Central Government and under some pretext a rebellion has been raised in these regions. * * * We are profoundly grieved to confess that a portion of the people are dissatisfied with us. * * * To perform the ceremony of enthronement at this juncture would, therefore, set our heart on thorns. The enthronement will have to be postponed to a date when the affairs in Yunnan are again under control."

The month of February was one of speculation and of discouragement on the part of the Republicans. The control of the military forces of the north was tightened in all suspected centres; Nanking, which had been the hotbed of revolution for the last four years, was practically under martial law; soldiers with fixed bayonets patrolled the streets; signs were put up in the tea houses and Government schools forbidding any discussion of political affairs; infractions of this rule were severely punished. But the unrest continued, a statement of one of the scholars in Nanking being indicative of public sentiment in general. On being asked what he thought of the new flag

which the Monarchists proposed for the nation, he said he thought the best design would be a white flag with a great black spot in the centre, (for Yuan Shih-kai.)

This dissatisfaction found active expression in the revolt on March 17 of Kuangsi, which made, among others, the following demands upon the Central Government: The cancellation of the empire and reinstitution of the republican form of government; the abdication of Yuan Shih-kai, and the convocation of a legislative body which should represent and be capable of expressing the authentic "will of the people."

On March 22 this was answered by a mandate from Yuan canceling the monarchy. In it he said: "I am still of the opinion that the designation petitions submitted are unsuited to the demands of the time, and the official acceptance of the imperial throne is hereby canceled. * * * I now confess that the faults of the country are the result of my own faults."

Although Yuan had relinquished the throne, he was not willing to abdicate entirely, and nothing short of this would satisfy the southerners. Chekiang Province revolted and its Governor fled; Kwangtung followed. The press was full of fiery articles calling for Yuan's retirement. On April 27 General Tsai Ao, the great military leader of the Republicans, sent a long telegram to Peking urging Yuan to retire, and concluding with a threat: "If, however, you should continue to linger and delay to make a prompt decision in the sense of retirement and compel the people to elaborate their demands in plainer language, your retirement will be compulsory instead of voluntary, and your high virtue will be lowered." This was followed by a similar appeal by Dr. Wu Ting-fang.

Yuan remaining obdurate, on May 10 the southern provinces elected Li Yuan-hung as President. On May 17 Liang Chi-Chao, the Republican leader, who has the highest reputation among the scholars of China, telegraphed Peking: "Since Hsaing-Cheng (Yuan Shih-kai) has been morally defeated in the eyes of Chinese as well as foreigners, the iron verdict has been passed on him demand-

ing his retirement." This was backed on May 18, the following day, by a statement of 300 members of the former National Assembly, which Yuan had dissolved in 1913.

Through all this discussion Nanking had remained neutral. On May 15 General Feng Kuo-Chang held a conference of the representatives of the ten provinces which were still loyal. The conference accomplished little except to emphasize the growing demand for Yuan's retirement. On May 24 Szechuan revolted, and two days later Yuan first publicly announced his intention to retire, saying: "My wish to retire is my own and originated with myself. I have not the slightest idea of lingering with a longing heart at my post." On May 29 Yuan issued a long statement in which he reviewed in detail his action in connection with the attempted change of Government. Two sentences are rather interesting in the light of the present knowledge of the entire situation:

I, the great President, have done everything I could to ascertain the real will of the people by taking measures to prevent every possible corruption, the same being in pursuance of my wish to respect the will of the people. * * * In dealing with others I, the great President, have always been guided by the principle of sincerity.

The comment upon this mandate by the editor of *The Peking Gazette*, himself a Chinese, is indicative of the sentiment of the country at that time:

If there was not a growing danger with every day that the Chief Executive tarried in office, moderate Chinese might be inclined to read with some patience and in a sense of sympathy the mandate issued on Monday night, which we translate in full today. It is obviously the attempt of Yuan Shih-kai to set himself right with posterity and to state for the future historian his own version of a transaction that has made him weaker than the child-ruler who preceded him. There is no time to reread what has already been asseverated time and again to a skeptical world. There is no time to shed a tear for a fall from greatness that is without parallel in history. The nation's perils thicken and the voice of the people clamors for the retirement that is to bring surcease of their harassment. Again we bid him be wise and leave the work that must be done by other hands under surer knowledge of the great new forces in our midst.

During the following week Yuan Shih-

kai became seriously ill, and on June 6 he died, the cause of his death being urinaemia. A few hours before his death he issued his last mandate, in which he handed over the Government to the Vice President. His closing words are not without pathos: "Owing to my lack of virtue and ability, I have not been able fully to transform into deed what I have desired to accomplish; and I blush to say I have not realized one-tenthousandth part of my original intention to save the country and the people. * * * I was just thinking how I could retire into private life when illness has suddenly overtaken me. * * * The ancients once said, 'It is only when the living do try to become strong that the dead are not dead.' This is also the wish of me, the great President."

President Li Yuan-hung at once entered upon his office, beginning on June 7, according to *The Peking Gazette*, "the work that ought to have been begun four years ago." His first two mandates were as follows:

I.

Yuan-hung has assumed the office of President on this the 7th day of the sixth month. Realizing his lack of virtue, he is extremely solicitous lest something may miscarry. His single aim will be to adhere strictly to law for the consolidation of the republic and the molding of the country into a really constitutionally administered country. May all officials and people act in sympathy with this idea and with united soul and energy fulfill the part that is lacking in him. This is his great hope.

II.

The present general situation is exceedingly precarious. Having just shouldered the great burdens of the State, I need the assistance of others in everything pertaining to administrative measures. All civil and military officials outside of Peking should, therefore, remain at their posts and assist in solving the present troubles. Let no man shirk his duties in the slightest degree.

The issuing of the mandate was followed by telegrams from most of the provinces, stating their loyalty to the new President and to the Republican Government. A few days later Liang Shih-Yi, the Chief Counselor and Adviser of Yuan Shih-kai among the Monarchists, resigned from his position in the Government; thus the chief obstacle to harmony was removed. The efforts of the new Repub-

lican Government are now being directed toward the establishment of a Parliament, according to the Provisional Constitution adopted at Nanking in 1912. The revised Provisional Constitution, adopted in May, 1914, which, according to Dr. Goodnow, "is almost a copy of the Japanese Constitution," and through which very comprehensive powers are given the President, with practically an absolute veto power and the right to re-election after a term of ten years, will probably be discarded. There are many obstacles, of course, to the successful solution of the political difficulties in China, but undoubtedly great advance has been made toward this solution during the last year.

The courage of the leaders of the Republican cause in the face of the military power of the Peking Government was worthy of admiration. Let two instances suffice: The editor of *The Peking Gazette*, published in both Chinese and English, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper published in the north of China in a foreign language, throughout the entire contest was loyal to the Republican cause. He could have taken refuge in the protection of the British Legation or of some other legation in Peking when his writings brought him into danger; but in reply to a question in this connection he made the following statement: "At the most critical and dangerous period for adverse criticism of the monarchical movement—in February last—I decided, in order to free my staff of any possible responsibility, to register myself as a Chinese subject in the capacity of the sole proprietor of *The Peking Gazette*." (Signed Eugene Ch'en.) Liang Chi-Chao, the rumor of whose assassination in March was greeted with consternation throughout the country, published a comment on the secret telegrams of the Yuan Government in both English and Chinese, exposing their intrigues in the most direct terms. He concluded his article in this way:

I know (and I believe everybody knows) that the publication of this article will not only involve me in serious difficulties, but will also expose my life to grave dangers. Nevertheless, as a citizen of China and as a

member of the human race, I honestly believe it my duty to publish this article, a duty from which I ought not to shrink, cost what it may; for I cannot do otherwise than act according to the dictates of my conscience.

Oh, fellow-countrymen, young and old! listen to my appeal! Oh, intelligent and upright foreign friends! Listen to my appeal!

In trying to form a judgment of this entire political movement, the question is certain to arise of the ability of the Chinese as a whole to understand and carry out the ideals of a republic. A study of the history and literature of China reveals clearly the democratic spirit of the people. The right of rebellion against tyrants has brought to a close many of the ancient dynasties. Two passages from the Confucian classics, which have had a greater influence in molding the mind of the Chinese people than any other writings, are worthy of quotation in this connection. One is regarding the possibility of the perversion of the will of the people: "A ruler may carry off by force the Governor of a Province, but he cannot change the will of even the humblest of its subjects";

and from the Analects, another regarding the essentials of government:

Tsze-kung asked about Government. The Master (Confucius) said, "The essentials of Government are that there be a sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said: "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?"

"The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked: "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?"

The Master answered: "Part with the food. From of old death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers the State cannot stand." (Book XII., Chapter 7.)

It is this spirit that has animated the leaders of the Republican movement, and it is this spirit that marks the fight for the republic in China as worthy of honor among those nations of the world who are opponents of autocracy and supporters of democracy—of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

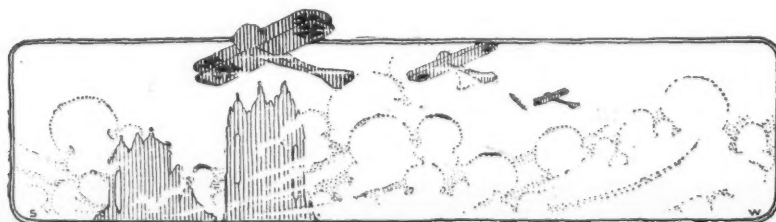
An Irish Officer on the Somme

A wounded Irish officer, when asked to describe the Anglo-French offensive, wrote in reply:

You can no more hope to get the Push described for folk who haven't been out than you can hope to get the world described, or human life explained, on a postcard. The pen may be ever so mighty, but, believe me, it has its limitations.

What's the Push like? It's like everything that ever was. It's all the struggles of life crowded into an hour; it's an assertion of the bedrock decency and goodness of our people; and I wouldn't have missed it for all the gold in London town. I don't want to be killed; not a little bit. But, bless you, one simply can't be bothered giving it a thought. The killing of odd individuals such as me is so tiny a matter.

My God, it's the future of humanity; countless millions; all the laughing little kiddies, and the slim, straight young girls, and the sweet women, and the men that are to come. It's all humanity we're fighting for, whether life's to be clean and decent, free and worth having—or a Boche nightmare. You can't describe it, but I wouldn't like to be out of it for long. It's hell and heaven, and the devil and the world; and, thank goodness, we're on the side of the angels—decency, not material gain—and we're going to win.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Russian Cartoon]

The Crown Prince's Accident



—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

The Berlin-Paris express wrecked at Verdun.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Double-Headed Eagle



Austria on Two Fronts.

—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Minotaur



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

"If Germania, the Minotaur, breather of fire and drinker of blood, is not yet at the death rattle, its roar is already less loud. It is less proud of attitude, less prompt with its blows, like the wounded bull that runs blindly in a circle. Its muzzle already would be seen to be pale if it were not reddened with blood."

[German Cartoon]

At Verdun

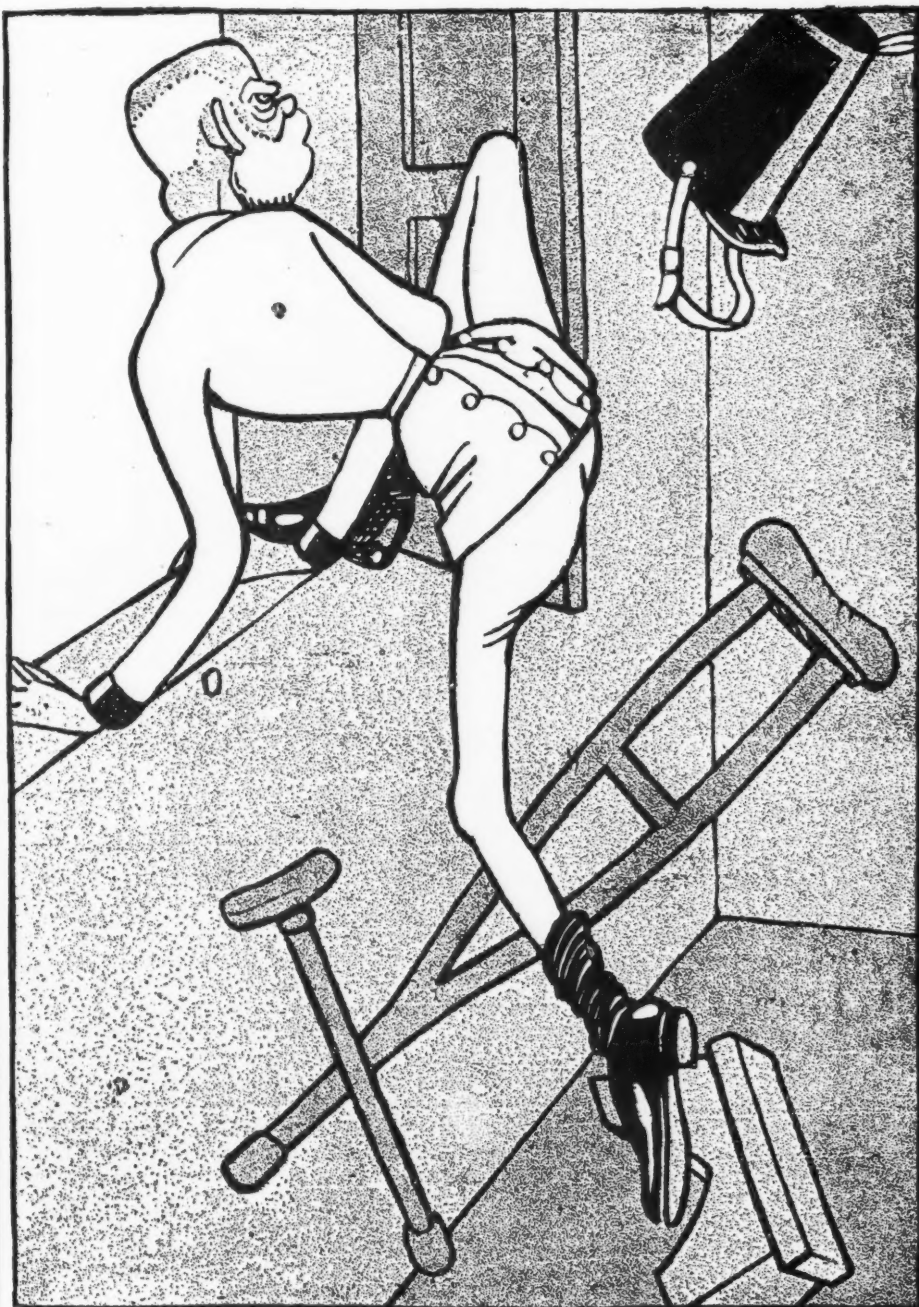


—From *Der Brummer*, Berlin.

The true Commander in Chief of the French.

[Spanish Cartoon]

In the Carpathians



—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

"Those Russians again—and with plenty of things to throw at me!"

[Italian Cartoon]
The Royal Thief



Setting out to loot Europe.

—By Cesare Giris

[French Cartoon]

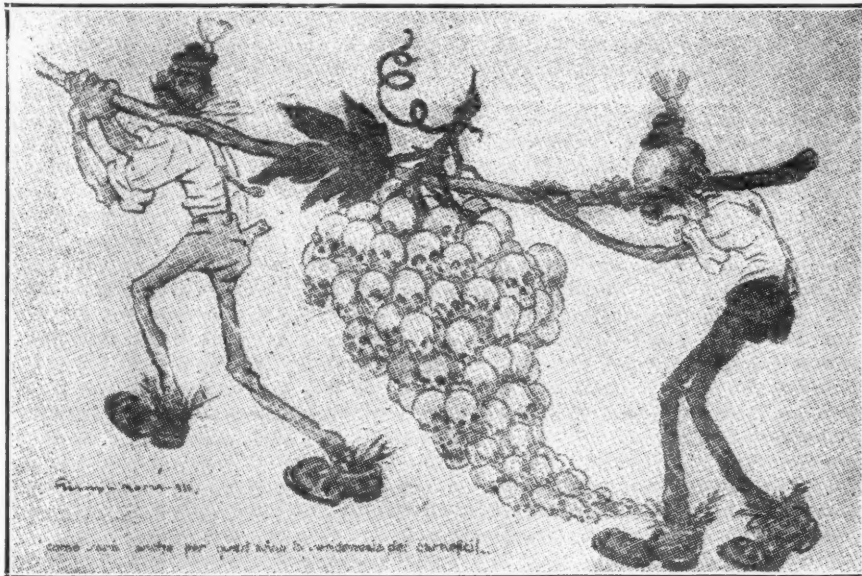
The Offensive of the Allies



—© *Le Rire*, Paris.

The loop seems to be tightening all right.

[Italian Cartoon]



—By Russo, Italian Cartoonist.

"This year it will be a vintage of murder."

[Dutch Cartoon]

Cleansing the Temple



—By Louis Raemaekers, Dutch Cartoonist.

[Russian Cartoons]
"So Shall Ye Reap"



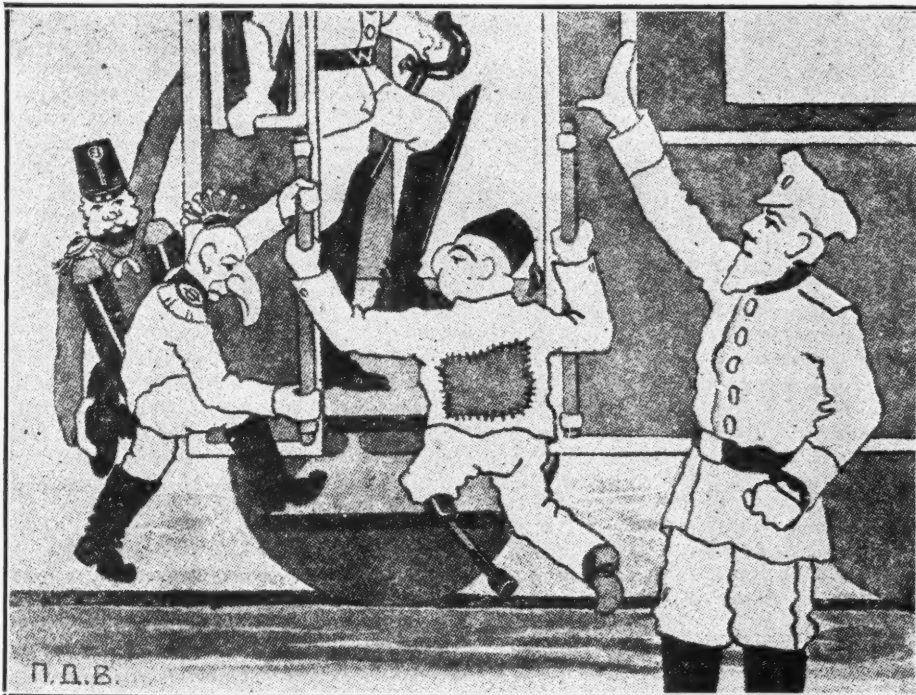
Урожай въ
Германиі.



A fine harvest in Germany.

—From Iskry, Moscow.

The War Lords' Special



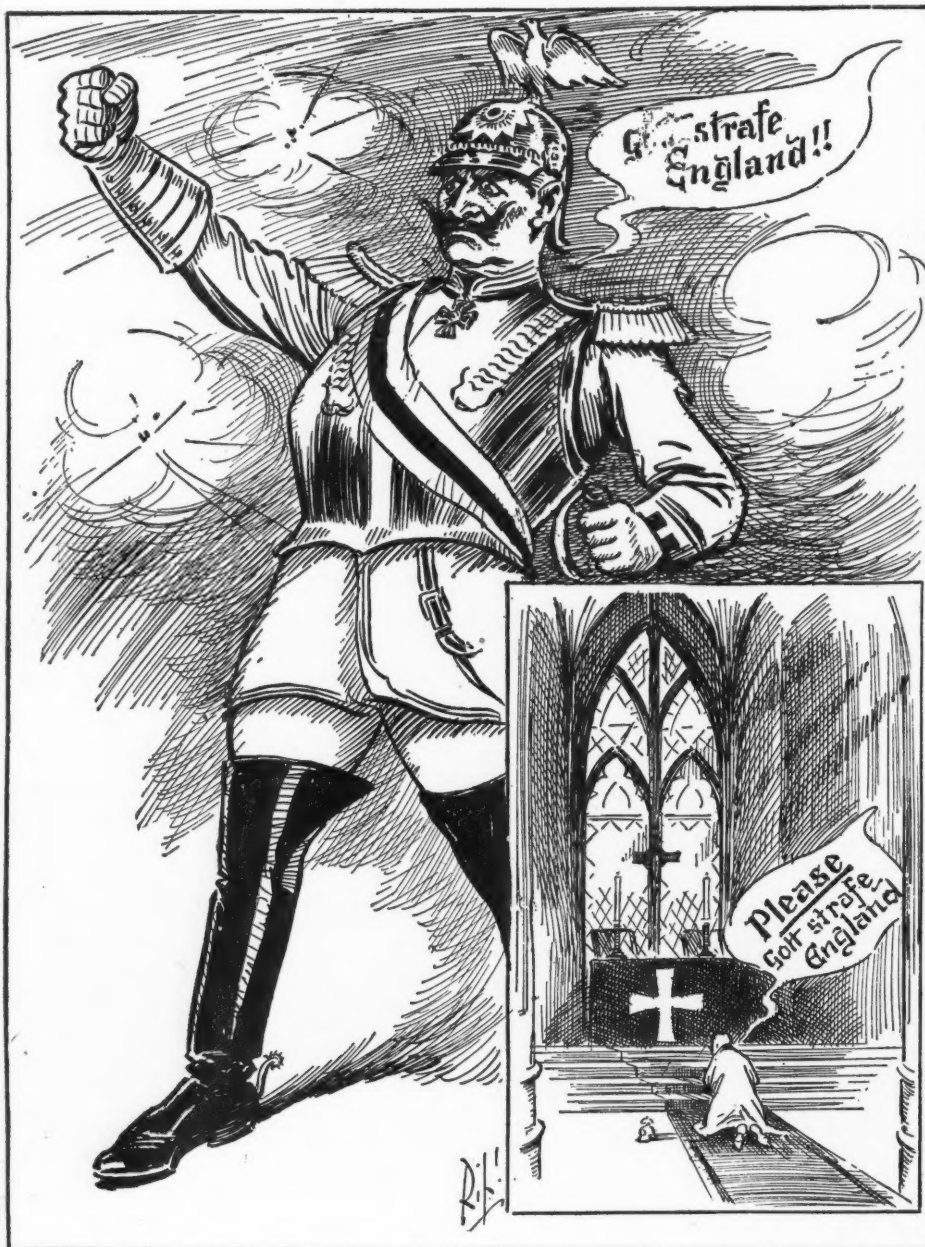
П.Д.В.

—From Iskry, Moscow.

WILHELM: "Get off the step—there's no more room."

[English Cartoon]

The Most High Strafer



From the Bystander, London.

1914——and——1916.

[Italian Cartoon]

On Three Fronts



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The collapse of the Mutual Aid Society.

[English Cartoon]

Humility



—By Will Dyson.

THE PROFESSOR: "I am sorry we have no further openings for instructors!"
MEPHISTOPHELES: "Ah, you misjudge me, I come as a pupil!"

[English Cartoon]

The Ruhleben Zoo



—Will Dyson in *London Chronicle*.

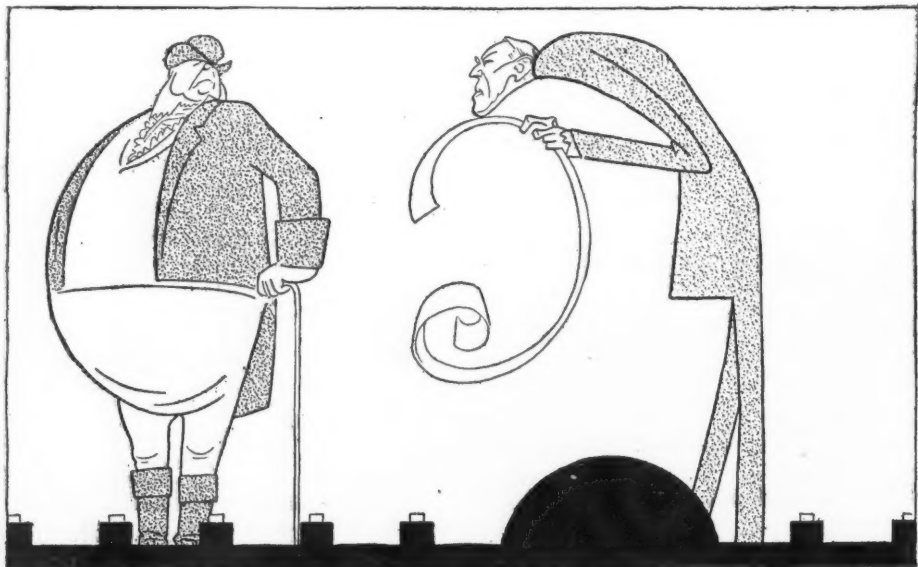
LITTLE GRETCHEN OF RUHLEBREN: "Grandma, if Max and I are good children, may we please go and see the British prisoners starved!"

[German Cartoon]

America's Note to England



Behind the Scenes—



—From *Simplicissimus*.

—and before the footlights.

[Italian Cartoon]
Gramophones Made in Germany



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

[An Italian skit on the peace talk that is going on in various parts of the world.]

[English Cartoon]
Holland's Mysterious Trade



—From *Passing Show*, London.

"Nothing has gone into Germany through this door for months. The fellow must be about done for."

[Italian Cartoon]
The Last Call



—From *Uomo de Pietra*, Milan.

Soon there will be none to respond but the dead.

[Cartoon from India]
Unfinished



—From *Hindi Punch*, Bombay.

AUSTRIA: "Up again! I thought I had finished you months ago!"

[English Cartoon]

No Password Needed

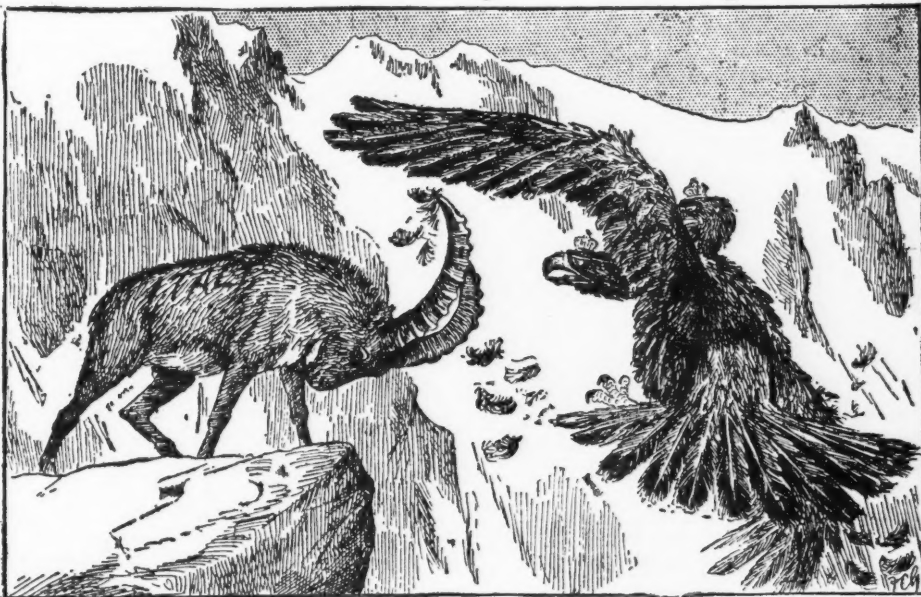
[A cartoon that helped to break the strike in the Clyde shipyards]



—From *London Opinion*.

"Who goes there?"
"Clyde striker."
"Pass, friend; all's well."

[English Cartoon]
Austria and Italy in the Alps



—From The Westminster Gazette.

[French Cartoon]
War as a Cure-All



—Hermann Paul in *La Guerre Sociale*.

"What were you before the war?"
"I was a neurasthenic."

[Italian Cartoon]

The Hero



—By Cesare Giris.

[This cartoon on the execution of Edith Cavell, contributed to the album entitled "Crimes of the Central Empires," stirred Italy deeply.]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Disquieting Discovery



THE BUTCHER: "Strange! The more I wash myself in the blood of the people, the darker the original stain becomes."

—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

The Triumphal Procession of the Dead



[This cartoon, drawn some years ago by a French artist, is now being circulated by a German publisher in Munich as an indictment of the Allies and their sins against small nations.]

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events
From August 12 Up to and Including
September 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 12—French capture German trenches north of the Somme from Hardecourt to Buscourt and win a foothold in Maurepas.
- Aug. 13-16—French and British co-operate north of the Somme and carry German positions east of Maurepas-Cléry road.
- Aug. 18—British close in on Ginchy and Guillemont; French gain new grip on Maurepas; Germans driven out of Fleury.
- Aug. 19—British advance along eleven-mile front on the Somme, capturing a ridge overlooking Thiepval and half a mile of trenches west of High Wood.
- Aug. 22—British advance north of Bazentin; French reach outskirts of Cléry.
- Aug. 23—British capture 200 yards of trenches south of Thiepval; French lose ground south of Estrees.
- Aug. 24—French take all of Maurepas and continue advance; British tighten grip on Thiepval.
- Aug. 27—British capture 200 yards of German trenches north of Bazentin-le-Petit; Germans again attack at St. Mihiel salient and in Lorraine, but are repulsed.
- Aug. 31—French gain near Estrees and the Soyecourt Wood.
- Sept. 3—Allies occupy Guillemont, Forest, and Cléry.
- Sept. 4—French take Soyecourt and Chilly.
- Sept. 5—British gain foothold in Leuze Wood; French capture the Hospital Farm Rainnette Wood and part of Marrière Wood and take Ommiecourt.
- Sept. 6—British win Leuze Wood; French push to outskirts of Chaulnes and to Chaulnes-Roye Railway.
- Sept. 7—French reach Roye-Peronne Railroad and capture German trenches on Verdun front in Vaux-Chenois region.
- Sept. 8—British gain on three-mile front between High Wood and Leuze Wood; French in Verdun region capture trenches east of Fleury.
- Sept. 11—German assaults from Berny to south of Chaulnes repulsed.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

- Aug. 12—Russians cross the Koropiec at several points north of the Dniester and capture Nadworna.
- Aug. 13—Russians in Galicia seize Maryampol.
- Aug. 14—Russians force their way across the Zlota Lipa and capture the village of Tustobaby.

- Aug. 15—Russians capture Jablonitza, reoccupy two villages south of the town, and capture Zborow further north.
- Aug. 16-17—Teutons launch counterattacks against Russians in region of Zlana River; Russians seize heights west of Vorochta and Ardzemay, in the Carpathians.
- Aug. 19—Russians break through Teuton line on the Stokhod River and seize a village sixty miles northwest of Kovel.
- Aug. 21—Russians advance in the Stokhod region and press through two Carpathian passes toward Hungary.
- Aug. 23-27—Germans resume offensive south of Brody; Russians capture heights north and south of Koverla Mountain, on Hungarian frontier.
- Aug. 28—Fighting begins on frontier of Transylvania as Rumania declares war against Austria-Hungary.
- Aug. 30—Austrians driven out of Kronstadt by Rumanians.
- Aug. 31—Rumanians seize Vulcan Pass; Austrians fall back west of Csik Szereda.
- Sept. 1—Rumanians occupy Petroseny; Teutons in Galicia give way near Halicz.
- Sept. 2—Rumanians occupy Orsova and take Hermannstadt.
- Sept. 3—Russians capture fortified positions south of Rafailov, in the Carpathians and in the region of Dornawatra.
- Sept. 4—Russians cross the Theniovka River, in the Brzezany region; Rumanians occupy Borszek and Sz-Lelek, in Eastern Transylvania.
- Sept. 7—Russians bombard Halicz, after seizing the railroad lines.
- Sept. 8—Austrians abandon positions six miles west of Csik Czereda, in Transylvania; Russians in Galicia drive Austro-Germans across the Gnita Lipa.
- Sept. 11—Rumanians occupy Helimbar.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

- Aug. 12—Italians capture Oppacchiasella, on the Carso Plateau.
- Aug. 15—Austrian fleet sails from Trieste as Italians advance to within thirteen miles of the port; Italians reach suburbs of Tolmino, which are in flames.
- Aug. 16—Report that Germany is sending troops to defend Trieste; Italians capture trenches on Monte Pecinka.
- Aug. 27—Italian forces in the Carnic Alps take Austrian positions on Cita Vallone.
- Aug. 28—Austrians shell Gorizia.
- Aug. 29—Italian Alpini take Monte Cauriol.

- Sept. 5—Italians take several commanding positions of the Austrians on Punta del Forane, in the Upper Bovi.
- Sept. 8—Austrians repulsed at Civaron, in the Sugana Valley.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

- Aug. 16—Allied forces on the Saloniki front have captured the railroad station at Doiran and four villages at other points and are attacking the Bulgars on the Serbian-Greek frontier.
- Aug. 18—Bulgars capture the Greek town of Florina from the Serbs.
- Aug. 19—Bulgars seize two Greek forts on the Struma and push patrols toward the port of Kavala; Allies advance in centre of line; British occupy Dolzeli.
- Aug. 21—Anglo-French forces cross the Struma and attack Bulgarian defenses northeast of Seres.
- Aug. 22—Allies capture a series of heights west of the Vardar River and halt the Germans and Bulgarians on the Struma.
- Aug. 23—Bulgars wipe out Greek garrisons of Starchista and Phea Petra; Seres bombarded; Greek volunteers flock to resist invasion; British and French repel attacks on the Struma line, while the Serbs capture 150 yards of Bulgarian trenches near Kaimakcalam.
- Aug. 24—Russians concentrate troops on the Bessarabian-Rumanian frontier and on the Russian Danube; Rumanians mass on the lower Danube and the Pruth; Serbs retake positions northwest of Ostrovo Lake, on the Saloniki line.
- Aug. 27—Bulgars in Kavala shelled by British warships; all but one of the Kavala forts taken; Bulgars enter Albania and occupy Malik.
- Aug. 28—Serbians in Macedonia drive Bulgars back near Vetrenik and in the Ostrovo region.
- Aug. 29—French advance toward the Ljumnica River and Serbs advance toward Vetrenik.
- Aug. 30—Bulgars seize Drama after a battle with the Greek garrison.
- Sept. 1—Greek forces which left Seres to resist Bulgar invasion of Macedonia captured by the Bulgars; Italians begin an offensive southeast of Avlona in Albania and fight to join the Serbs.
- Sept. 3—German and Bulgarian troops cross the Dobrudja frontier.
- Sept. 4—Rumanians repulse Teuton-Bulgar attacks on the fortified town of Barsardjik; Italians in Albania make a raid across the Voyusa River, near Avlona.
- Sept. 7—Bulgar-German forces capture Tutrakan fortress.
- Sept. 9—Bulgar-Teuton forces driven out of Dobric; Serbs drive Bulgars from a height west of Lake Ostrovo.
- Sept. 10—Bulgar-Teuton forces capture Silistra.
- Sept. 11—British cross the Struma and take

four villages; Serbs advance southward from Lake Ostrovo.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

- Aug. 12—Turks occupy Kighli in Armenia and pursue the Russians on the Bitlis-Mush line.
- Aug. 21—Turks advance in Persia; Russians withdraw toward Sandshoulak and Unshu.
- Aug. 23—Turkish offensive along the Armenian Black Sea stopped by the Russians with the aid of the fleet.
- Aug. 24—Russians reoccupy Mush in Armenia.
- Aug. 25—Russians recover Bitlis.
- Sept. 1-2—Turkish offensive west of Gumushkhane and Erzingan checked by Russians.
- Sept. 11—Russians take Bana in Persia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

- Aug. 15—Military coastal station of Bagamojo captured by British naval forces.
- Aug. 18—Belgians capture Karema.
- Aug. 22—British take Kilossa.
- Aug. 26—British occupy Mrogoro, the seat of the German Provisional Government.

AERONAUTICS

- Zeppelins raided England on the night of Aug. 23, and again on the 24th. In the second raid eight persons were killed and thirty-six injured in the outskirts of London. On the night of Sept. 2, thirteen Zeppelins dropped bombs on the eastern counties, killing two persons and injuring thirteen. One machine was brought down near London.

NAVAL RECORD

- Twenty-two vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk by submarines in the war zone, and six in the Mediterranean Sea. The British Destroyer Lasso was destroyed by a German submarine in the English Channel.
- Two British light cruisers, the Nottingham and the Falmouth, were sunk by German submarines while searching for the German high seas fleet. One German submarine was destroyed.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Italy declared war on Germany Aug. 27. On the same day Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary. In retaliation Germany and Turkey declared war on Rumania. On Aug. 29 Rumania presented an ultimatum to Bulgaria demanding the evacuation of Serbian territory and adherence to the Bucharest treaty.
- The Allies seized seven Teuton ships in the harbor of Piraeus and made demands on the Greek Government for control of posts and telegraphs, including the wireless system, and the expulsion of Teuton agents. Greece complied. A serious revolution occurred in Macedonia as a result of the Bulgar invasion and martial law was proclaimed in several cities.